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**SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.**



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*Brown. Club. 18.*

# MEMOIRS

OF HIS OWN LIFE

BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE

OF HALHILL.

M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.

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FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

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PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,

M.DCCC.XXVII.





At a Meeting of the Committee of Management of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the 10th day of July 1826,

Resolved, That the "MEMOIRS OF HIS OWN LIFE, BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE OF HALHILL," be printed for the use of the Members, from the Original Manuscript in the possession of the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose ; under the superintendence of the VICE-PRESIDENT.

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At a Meeting of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the 31st day of January 1827,

Resolved, That the PRESIDENT be requested to communicate the thanks of the Members to THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE H. ROSE, for the use of his invaluable Manuscript of the Memoirs of Sir James Melville, so liberally and obligingly granted to them.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.



# THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXVII.

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## PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

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SIR JAMES MELVILLE is well known as a person of considerable distinction in the Scottish court, during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James the Sixth. In many of the political transactions of that eventful period he was himself personally concerned, and for nearly half a century, had been an acute and intelligent observer of the characters and conduct of those around him. On the accession of James to the English crown, he withdrew himself entirely from public life, and appears to have devoted a part of his leisure to the compilation of some "Memorials" of himself; not so much in the view of giving to the world an exact and regular History of all the great and interesting events of his own times, as of leaving to his children a sort of political testament, exhibiting for their instruction and guidance, as much as for the gratification of their curiosity, a view of his own conduct and experience as a courtier, and a practical illustration of those rules and maxims, by which success in public life was most likely to be attained.

Sir James Melville died in the year 1617, at the age of seventy-two, leaving several sons and daughters. Yet, by some strange accident or neglect, the work thus peculiarly designed for their use, was suffered to pass out of the possession of his family, and is said to have long lain unheeded and forgotten in the Castle of Edinburgh. Among the Presbyterian ministers who, in the year 1660, were imprisoned in that fortress, by an order of the Committee of Estates, was the venerable Mr Robert Trail; and it is said that the original manuscript of Melville's Memoirs was there accidentally found by him, and restored to the author's grandson.

From this manuscript, one copy at least was made; the use of which was given to Bishop Burnet, when employed in the composition of his History of the Reformation; and in the second volume of that work, he had repeatedly quoted and referred to Melville's Memoirs, as the source from which he had been enabled to draw much original and authentic information. Thus, after relating an anecdote of Montluc, bishop of Valence, it is added,—“ This is related by one  
 “ who was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page  
 “ to the Scotch Queen; Sir James Melvil, who lived long in that  
 “ court, under the Constable of France, and was afterwards much em-  
 “ ployed by the Prince Elector Palatine in many negotiations; and  
 “ coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the  
 “ court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age  
 “ writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in,

“ which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I  
 “ have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scot-  
 “ land : A copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from  
 “ which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs  
 “ in which he was most employed were something later than the time  
 “ of which I am to write.”\*

It seems highly probable that this descendant of Sir James Melville was George Scott of Pitlochrie, a younger son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, and Margaret Melville one of Sir James's daughters. Certain it is, that George Scott was in London, for some time, in the course of the year 1679, when Burnet must have been employed in collecting materials for the second volume of his History of the Reformation, and when he may be presumed to have received the communication, above alluded to, of a copy of Melville's Memoirs, taken from “ the original “ under the author's own hand, yet extant in Scotland.” This part of Burnet's work was published in 1681. In 1683, it was followed by the first publication of the Memoirs, of which George Scott was, nominally at least, the editor, and in the preparation of which he professes to have used a copy, “ derived to him” from the original, after its restoration to the family of Halhill.†

\* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 204. Among other references to Melville's narrative, see also vol. ii. pp. 214, 408, 411.

† Vide Appendix.



In an "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to the work, after alluding to the period of the author's life at which "with his own hand he drew up these Memoires," the editor proceeds to say,—“How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine ; 'tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though *this copy* extend not so far : However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author's, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us. And, indeed, I was not a little encouraged in this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so providentially to my hand ; it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been found able to afford shelter to the Public Records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers : Though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble : Whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Fryars Church in Edinburgh, when imprison'd there, to whom the author's hand was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness

“ to have lighted on ſo great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities  
 “ of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhail, the author’s  
 “ grandchild : *From whence it was derived to me* ; and having peruf-  
 “ ed it, and thought I ſhould be highly injurious to the publick, if I  
 “ did not communicate it to the world ; together with the author’s fol-  
 “ lowing Epiftle to his fon in the nature of a Dedication, wherein, as  
 “ he ſhows his deep inſight into the intrigues of Princes Courts, ſo it  
 “ likewiſe gives an evident demonſtration of his ſincerity in what he  
 “ has therein delivered ; and of his firm affection to virtue and ho-  
 “ neſty, and deteſtation of vice, and thoſe flattering acts whereby evil  
 “ and ſelf-ſeeking counſellours have often abuſed the beſt of Princes.”

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that the work thus given to the pub-  
 lic was generally regarded as in itſelf a moſt intereſting narrative, and  
 an invaluable addition to the authentic hiſtory of a period in which the  
 characters and motives of the great actors had become the ſubject of end-  
 leſs controverſy. It appears, however, that ſuſpicions of the fidelity of the  
 publiſher began early to be entertained. His departure from the original  
 he had profeſſed to copy was, in one reſpect, abundantly obvious. The  
 general ſtyle and phraſeology of the Memoirs muſt have been clearly  
 perceived not to be thoſe of the age of Sir James Melville ; but from  
 this it could only be inferred that, agreeably to the faſhion of the time,  
 the work had been *done into English* by ſome *good hand* ; nor could  
 it fail to be remarked that the taſk had been performed by ſome one

very imperfectly verified in the peculiar idioms and antiquated phraseologies of the Scottish language.

Another ground of distrust, in later times at least, was the disappearance of the original manuscript, of which no traces could anywhere be found. This circumstance was by some connected with the disastrous fate of the editor and his family, who were known to have perished at sea, in the course of an ill-omened voyage to America.\* A less charitable explanation was adopted by others, whose opinions and prejudices inclined them to throw discredit on the historical accuracy of the Memoirs, and who affected to think that the original manuscript had been intentionally destroyed, in order to conceal the supposed falsifications of the publisher.

These conjectures, in themselves of no great weight, proceeded on the supposition that Melville's original manuscript had been transferred, from the representatives of the family of Halhill, to their ill-fated kinsman, the editor of the Memoirs; a supposition most improbable in itself, and contradicted even by his own statements. It still continued, therefore, to be regarded as a matter of historical interest to ascertain, if possible, the degree of credit truly due to the work published under Melville's name. On some points, his veracity had been directly and vehemently impeached; and on others, connected with some of the most disputed facts in the history of that period, the testimony of an eye-witness apparently so candid,

\* Vide Appendix.

was anxiously sought for in its purest and most genuine form. In this view, the late Mr Laing is known to have directed his inquiries into every quarter where it was thought probable that the original manuscript might have been deposited ; but, as he himself has informed us, the attempt proved unavailing ;\* no traces of its existence could anywhere be found, and all hope of its discovery seemed to be nearly extinguished.

It must, therefore, afford much gratification to those who take an interest in such researches to learn, that an original manuscript of Sir James Melville's historical work has at last been found. Among the manuscripts formerly belonging to the family of the Earls of Marchmont, bequeathed to the late Mr George Rose, and now in the possession of his son, the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose, there is one which has proved to be, in all probability, that original in the author's own hand, from which the copy perused by Burnet was taken, and from which the Memoirs published by the author's descendant were compiled. At what time, or by what means, it had passed into the possession of the Marchmont family, does not now appear. The intimate personal friendship, and political connexion of the two distinguished heads of the families of Melville and of Polwarth, at the period of the Revolution, are well known ; and that connexion may serve perhaps in some degree to account for the transfer of this interesting document into the hands of the first Earl of Marchmont, who,

\* Dissertation on Darnley's Murder, ii. 104.

to his eminent talents and virtues as a statesman, added the tastes and accomplishments of a scholar.

Although it would be absurd to deny that there may have existed original manuscripts of this work, varying from each other in their structure and minute details, yet, on a fair consideration of all the circumstances that present themselves, in comparing the Marchmont manuscript with the printed Memoirs, it seems scarcely possible to resist the conclusion, that this must be the very same which was so fortunately discovered by Mr Robert Trail, and from which the Memoirs were derived.

The Marchmont manuscript, like that found in the Castle of Edinburgh, is in the handwriting of Sir James Melville. Independently of such alterations and corrections, and other peculiarities, as usually serve to indicate the hand of an author, the manuscript throughout has been found to bear a resemblance to other specimens of Melville's penmanship, so complete as to leave no hesitation in the mind of any one accustomed to make such comparisons. Among the Burghley Papers, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts now preserved in the British Museum, there is an original letter of Melville to Sir Thomas Randolph, supposed to have been written in the year 1572, probably more than thirty years anterior to the composition of his Memoirs. Of this letter, and of two small portions of the manuscript, lithographic imitations are here given; and although, on a comparison, there will be observed that diversity which is usual in the hand-



writing of the same individual, in middle life, and in old age, it has not been deemed necessary to seek for any later specimens, in order to establish the point in question.

Another proof of identity, is afforded by the mutilated state of the Marchmont manuscript, compared with that of the manuscript said to have been found by Mr Trail. Whatever probability there may be in the statement given by his grandson, that Melville had continued his narrative down to the period of his retirement from Court in 1603, it appears that no part of the work subsequent in date to 1593, had been saved. The last public event alluded to in the printed Memoirs, is the adjustment in that year of certain discussions, arising out of the marriage-contract of the King and Queen; and in the Marchmont manuscript, in like manner, this is the last portion of the narrative that remains complete. There follows, indeed, some account of Bothwell's "surprise" of the King in July 1593, but so mutilated and imperfect, from the injury sustained by the manuscript, as sufficiently to explain its omission in the printed Memoirs. This of itself may be regarded as a decisive circumstance; for it is evidently against all reasonable calculation of chances, that so exact a coincidence should have happened in the fortuitous mutilation of two separate copies of the same work.

It did not require the aid of an original manuscript, to discover that the Memoirs were a modernized version of Melville's narrative; but the extent of this change, and the licence of alteration which had

been indulged in, could not well have been understood or credited, without an actual comparison. In so far as regards merely the language of the narrative, the editor's only purpose seems to have been to give his book a more attractive and polished air ; an attempt which could not possibly be made, without destroying, in a great measure, the genuine character of the original ; and which, in many instances, has betrayed the compiler into mistakes and perversions of the author's meaning. Of these, the greater part must have been owing to an imperfect knowledge of the antiquated words and phrases of the Scottish dialect of Melville's age ; but, in other instances, the errors of the version may still be traced to some occasional negligence or imperfection in the formation of words or letters, which a more careful examination of the manuscript might have enabled the copyist to decipher. To the external proofs of the identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and that employed by the editor of the *Memoirs*, may therefore be added some mistakes of the kind now alluded to ; which, however, could not be rendered intelligible, without actual inspection of the original.

On the other hand, there are many palpable discrepancies between the *Memoirs* and the manuscript, for which it may not be so easy to account, and which may be thought to bear with considerable force against the supposition that this was the manuscript employed by the compiler of the printed work. The point is luckily of no very serious moment to the truth of history ; but those who may think it deserv-

ing of inquiry, and who may be inclined to regard every deviation from the manuscript as a ground of presumption against the hypothesis here assumed, should bear in mind that critical fidelity and exactness in the publication of historical documents, were little studied or cared for till within a period comparatively recent. Those who are at all versant in this department of our literature, must be aware, that even where no deception was intended, it was held to be within the sound discretion, if not the bounden duty, of a careful editor, to retrench the prolixity, and expand the careless brevity of his author; to new-model the text into a better or more tasteful form, and to do whatever else he might deem requisite to render the work more acceptable to his readers. On the supposition that the Marchmont manuscript was the prototype of the printed Memoirs, it cannot be denied that the editor has made a liberal use of the customary privileges of his office; at the same time, it does not appear that any intentional or systematic plan to falsify the meaning and the sentiments of the author, had been entertained or acted on.

An obvious deviation of the printed Memoirs from their supposed original, will be found in the structure and arrangement of the earlier portion of the volume; it is at the same time, however, one of those most easily to be accounted for. In a preliminary address to his son, Sir James Melville informs him that the work he was about to prepare for his instruction, would consist chiefly of certain detached memorials and pieces written long before, in which were

recorded the transactions he had himself been employed in, or the observations he had made in the course of his travels. In the manuscript there are various traces of this mode of compilation. It begins with an account of his own personal history, and some of the remarkable occurrences of which he was a witness, from the period of his first leaving Scotland in 1549, till the battle of St Quentin in 1557. At this point, the course of the narrative is interrupted by a portion of manuscript, which is stated by the author not to belong to the History, but which he considers as "meeter to be placed at the end of the book." It consists of a series of examples of the ruin brought on young princes by the influence of evil councillors, drawn partly from ancient, partly from modern, history. His modern instances are King Edward VI. of England, and King James V. of Scotland. At the conclusion of this second and inflated portion of the manuscript, the author resumes his narrative nearly at the point where it was interrupted, yet not in such a way as to connect it exactly with the termination of the first part. In all that follows, however, there is a near approximation to the regular order of time, although at certain points it is not very difficult to discern a want of strict continuity, such as the author's plan of compilation could scarcely fail to occasion.

On examining the printed Memoirs, it will be found that an attempt, and not an unskilful one, has been made, to correct the disjointed state of the original composition. Throwing aside entirely the quotations from ancient and from English history, the work is made to commence

with that portion of the manuscript which relates to King James V.; after which, by means of some sentences taken from the beginning of the third part of the manuscript, where the narrative is resumed, the suppression of a few repetitions, and the introduction of a few words, the first and third parts are made to follow without any interruption, and the whole is connected together without any apparent awkwardness or irregularity.

Another deviation from the manuscript, less easily explained, will be found in the author's prefatory address to his son. The first half of this address, as given in the printed Memoirs, is obviously a licentious version of that contained in the manuscript; but for the concluding half, the manuscript supplies no prototype at all. It stops in a manner apparently quite abrupt, and it may therefore have occurred to the editor that it would figure ill without a more orderly conclusion. Had this continuation in the printed Memoirs contained any thing striking or original, it might have been difficult to believe that it could be the unauthorized work of the compiler; but on examination, it will be found to contain little more than a slight review of some leading facts in the author's life as detailed in the Memoirs, from which the purity of his political conduct is meant to be inferred;—such a sketch as the grandson might have ventured to draw from the more ample narrative before him, for the purpose of vindicating the character of his ancestor.

In many other parts of the work, discrepancies between the manu-

script and the printed Memoirs may be observed, of which it would be useless here to attempt any full detail. Thus, in deciphering the names of persons and places, the copyist appears to have been often puzzled, and has committed innumerable errors ; but in many other instances he has steered clear of all difficulty, by entirely omitting the doubtful words. A similar expedient has been frequently adopted where the author's meaning was obscure, or where it was not found easy to turn it into modern English. But there are other instances of a still bolder and more licentious deviation from the manuscript, either by altering the true meaning and effect of the original, or by inserting observations and reflections, for which it affords no authority. As examples of the former sort, it may be sufficient to refer to Melville's observations on the characters of the Queen and of the Regent Murray.\* Of the latter, among various instances, may be mentioned an interpolation in Melville's admonition to the Queen, on the subject of her concessions to Rizzio, and other persons who had obtained a temporary ascendant in her favour.†

It would be idle to deny, that these and other circumstances of a similar kind may be adduced, as presumptions or proofs against the supposed identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and of that employed by the editor of the printed Memoirs. It is fortunate, however, that

\* V. *infr.* p. 111, l. 4, compared with printed Memoirs, (first Edit.) p. 43, l. 25.—And p. 222, l. 9, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 103, l. 3.

† V. *infr.* p. 133, l. 18, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 55, l. 31—50.

between the manuscript and the printed Memoirs, the diversities are not such as greatly to affect the intrinsic value of the work ; and whatever may now be thought of the comparative value of the two, it is obvious, that until another original shall be found, to vindicate their accuracy, the Memoirs published by George Scott must yield in authority to the genuine manuscript of Sir James Melville, and must cease to be relied on as the authentic record of his testimony on the events which he has commemorated.

Of that manuscript the following volume is intended to exhibit a faithful and literal copy, without any variation that can be regarded as a departure from the original. In this, as in every manuscript of the same age, many words are given in a contracted form ; the orthography is rude and irregular ; and the punctuation, where any is attempted, is in general more likely to mislead than to assist the reader. To avoid these causes of obscurity, the abbreviations have, in general, been removed ; and an attempt has been made to accommodate the punctuation to the structure and genuine sense of the composition. Here, however, there is ample room for minute criticism. In many cases, the structure of the composition is so loose and inartificial, as scarcely to admit of a luminous or systematic arrangement ; and in others it may perhaps be thought that the genuine sense of the text has been marred or mistaken ; it is fit, therefore, the reader should always bear in mind, that on this head he is entitled to exercise his own unfettered judgment.



The original manuscript is without a title ; and although that already in common use is sufficiently descriptive of the general nature of the work, the liberty has here been taken of prefixing another still more characteristic, in which the words of the author himself, in the address to his son, have been borrowed.

To those who peruse the work with attention, it will be obvious that the chronological order of events has not always been accurately observed ; and the author's deviations from the order of time, while they indicate a strange failure of recollection, have sometimes betrayed him into mistakes in the connexion and sequence of events. Of this, among others that might be quoted, an instance occurs at the conclusion of the volume, where the baptism of Prince Henry, in 1594, is made to precede and lead on to some events that had occurred in the previous year. Others more important might be pointed out ; but as it is not here intended to enter into any critical examination of Melville's work, and as no attempt has been made to rectify the errors of the text, it may be enough to add, that even in its errors and defects, whatever be their nature or amount, the author's manuscript has been scrupulously followed.

APRIL, 1827.



## APPENDIX.

### ADDITIONAL NOTICES RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

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It has been stated, in the Preliminary Notice, that George Scott of Pitlochrie, the avowed Editor of Melville's Memoirs in 1683, was the author's grandson. He appears to have been a needy and bustling projector; and among other plans for retrieving his broken fortunes, he took a very active share in the settlement of the colony of East-New-Jersey; a scheme in which several persons of rank and influence in Scotland had embarked. In 1685, he published a Tract under the following title, "The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America; and encouragements for such as design to be concerned there. Published for information of such as are desirous to be interested in that place." Edinburgh, 1685 (small 8vo.) It would be out of place here to enter into any account of this work; but in reference to a circumstance founded on in the "Preliminary Notice," it is proper here to quote from it the following words:—"Having at London, in the year 1679, the opportunity of frequent converse with several substantial and judicious gentlemen concerned in the American plantations, I had thereby the opportunity of understanding thoroughly the great advantage redounding to that city from undertakings of this nature," &c. Page 1.

In January 1685, he had obtained from the Scottish government a "Pass," permitting "and allowing him, with his lady, children, and family, and such other persons as he shall engage, to pass from this kingdom either by sea or land to any of his Majesties foreign plantations; provided such persons to be transported by him be not declared traitors, rebels, fugitives," &c.—"And for his further encouragement, the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council were pleased by an act to condescend, that such as were under bond to compear before them when called, should have up their said respective bonds.

“ upon their going with him ; whereby they were secured from the apprehension of any  
 “ process to be, in their absence, intended against them upon that head.” Page 269.

In pursuance of the same policy, the Scottish Privy Council thought fit to make a grant to George Scott of nearly an hundred *Covenanters*, who had been for many months confined in Dunotter Castle, to be transported to the plantation in New Jersey. Having embarked the remains of his private fortune in this undertaking, he himself, with his wife, and a great proportion of those on board, were, in the course of the voyage, cut off by a malignant disorder, said to have been occasioned by the putrid state of their provisions. In Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, will be found a detailed account “ of the hardships of the prisoners transported to America  
 “ with Pitlochy in September (1685.”) B. iii. c. 9. sect. 12.

It has been somewhere remarked that “ this undertaking had such an issue as it de-  
 “ served.” The reflection seems unmerited, in so far as the unfortunate Pitlochie was concerned. He has not been accused of inhumanity to the prisoners under his charge ; they were the victims of the intolerant policy of the Scottish Government ; and had only to choose between the precarious chances of existence in another hemisphere, and the alternative of a lingering death in the dungeons of Dunotter or the Bass.

The first edition of Melville's Memoirs was published with the following title :—  
 “ The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill ; containing an impartial account of  
 “ the most remarkable affairs of State during the last age, not mentioned by other his-  
 “ torians : more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under  
 “ the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. In all which  
 “ transactions the author was personally and publickly concern'd. Now published from  
 “ the Original Manuscript. By George Scott, Gent. London, Printed by E. H. for  
 “ Robert Boulter at the Turk's-head in Corn-hill, against the Royal Exchange, 1683.”  
 (In folio.)

To this work is prefixed the following “ Epistle to the Reader :”—

“ As there is scarce any kind of civil knowledge more necessary or profitable than  
 history, (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the ancients, The Mistress of Life,) so  
 of all sorts of history there is none so useful as that which, unlocking the cabinet, brings  
 forth the letters, private instructions, consultations, and negotiations of ministers of state ;  
 for then we see things in a clear light, strip'd of all their paints and disguisings, and  
 discover those hidden springs of affairs, which give motion to all the vast machines and  
 stupendious revolutions of princes and kingdoms, that make such a noise on the theatre  
 of the world, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of scenes and daily vicissitudes.

“ Of this latter kind are those Memoirs wherewith we here oblige the world, being the many years transactions and experiences of an eminent publick minister in his long and faithful services under, and negotiations with several princes, and at as ticklish a juncture and important crisis of affairs as could almost happen in any age ; for having, upon the perusal, not only found the same to contain many remarkable passages, not met with in any histories of those times, and in such occurrences as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers considerable circumstances, but observed it likewise to be furnished with much excellent, plain, honest advice, (delivered by the by,) which might be of great advantage to princes, and with both examples and precepts whereby their counsellors and favourites may be cautioned what just, free, and generous measures they ought to take, if they would not tread the same precipices whereby others have shipwrecked both their masters and themselves ; I could not but apprehend myself obliged to communicate such a treasure to the publick, as well for a general good, as, in some measure, to discharge my devoir to the memory of the worthy author, from whom I have the honour to be descended.

“ Three things there are essential to any history, and which chiefly recommend it to the esteem of judicious readers.

“ 1. That the subject-matter be real, and of considerable moment. Women and children may be delighted with, and dote upon romances and silly legends, or listen with attentive admiration to the wars of the pigmies, and adventures of the fairy land. But men of sense always expect solid transactions, and such substantial examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in civil wisdom, and the necessary conduct of life.

“ 2. That the author be capable of knowing what he speaks, and have opportunities to discover the certainty and full circumstances of those affairs, whereof he undertakes to treat.

“ 3. And lastly, His honesty, that he be a man of impartial veracity, and firm resolution to observe inviolable that prime law of history, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat*—Not to dare deliver any falshood, nor to conceal any truth.

“ All which characters are happily met in these Memoirs.

“ The matters contained are both lofty and weighty, for they treat of the actions and sufferings of princes and persons of the first rank ; open the close consultations and intrigues of several of the ablest ministers of state at that time in Christendom, and shew on what hinges the greatest affairs were turned, and by what artifices managed, so as to be either accomplished or defeated.

“ Nor could any gentleman have better advantages to be acquainted with the most

private and reserved scenes of those passages which here he delivers to the world, since in general of all that he writes, he may properly say, *Quorum pars magna fui* ; they are matters within his own circle, and declare such as must of necessity fall within his own notice, since through his hands, and he himself had a principal part in the manage and transacting of them ; being a person concerned in the most knotty affairs (especially relating to Scotland) during his time : and therefore, as *ocularis testis*, his work may challenge that credit which many authors do but beg from the charity of their courteous readers, at least deserves as much or more esteem as any other writers of that time, who in respect of him were but *Auriti*.

“ The author was descended of one of the most honourable families of the kingdom of Scotland, as being third son to the Laird of Raith, and at fourteen years of age was sent by the Queen Regent to be page of honour to her daughter Mary, married to the Dauphin of France. But, by her allowance, he entered into the service of the Duke of Montmorancy (Great Constable of France, chief Minister to Henry II.), who earnestly desired him from her Majesty, having a fancy for the youth’s promising parts. He was nine years entertained and employed by him ; and when he grew up to riper years, and tried abilities in matters of greatest importance, an honourable pension for his greater encouragement was settled upon him by that King.

“ Then being desirous, for his farther accomplishment, to travel, having his Queen’s leave and his master’s permission for that purpose : but passing through Germany, he was detained by the perswasion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earnest entreaties necessitated to condescend to attend at his Court, where he resided three years, being by him employed on several embassies. After which, obtaining his consent to prosecute his former intentions of further travel, he visited Venice, Rome, and the most famous cities of Italy. Returning through Switzerland to the Elector’s Court, he there found a call from Queen Mary, then returned to her kingdom of Scotland, after the death of her husband King Francis, to attend her service.

“ The Queen Mother of France at the same time had offered him a large pension and profitable offices, to engage him to wait upon her service at the Court of France ; she finding it her interest at that juncture to keep good correspondence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, and knowing him to be most acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared most advantageous to his private fortunes to have accepted of her noble offers, yet in this, and at all other times, he preferred his loyalty to his interest, and esteemed himself engaged in duty to serve his natural princess rather than a stranger.

“ Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was admitted a Privy Counsellor and Gentleman

of her Chamber, being continually employed by her Majesty in matters of her greatest concernments, till her unhappy confinement in Lochleven : all which he discharged with an exact fidelity. And had she taken his sound advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.

“ He was afterwards noticed by all the four successive Regents in a special manner, and intrusted by them with negotiations of greatest moment ; though after the Queen’s imprisonment he had ever owned the King’s side.

“ When his Majesty King James came to the government, he was especially recommended by the Queen, then prisoner in England, to him, as one most faithful and capable of doing him service. Whereupon he was likewise by his Majesty admitted a member of his most Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer, as also made Gentleman of his chamber, continuing ever in favour and employment till his Majesty’s passage into England, to receive his hereditary right, the crown of that kingdom, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

“ The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him considerable advancements there. But being now stricken in years, and desirous to retreat from the troubles of the world, to spend the remainder of his days in contemplation, begged his Majesty’s permission thereto. However, after the King’s going for London, he found himself in duty engaged once to wait upon his Majesty in that kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciously received ; and having attended there some weeks, humbly giving his Majesty his best advice, no court allurements (whereof he had great store) could prevail with him to alter his former resolutions of privacy ; so that he returned to his own house, where, as in harbour, reflecting on the past voyage of his life, and all the various weather and difficult storms of publick affairs wherein he had been concerned ; to inform the world of the true state of those transactions, and to direct others (especially his children) how to conduct themselves if called to such services, he with his own hand drew up the following Memoirs. How far he deduced them, I cannot certainly determine ; ’tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though this copy extends not so far. However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author’s, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retrieved, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.

“ And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so pro-



videntially to my hand, it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford shelter to the publick records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers ; though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble ; whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Friars church in Edinburgh, when imprisoned there, to whom the author's hand-writing was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhill, the author's grandchild ; from whence it was derived to me ; and having perused it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I did not communicate it to the world, together with the author's following Epistle to his Son, in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he shews his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes courts, so it likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he has herein delivered ; and of his firm affection to vertue and honesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering arts whereby evil and self-seeking counsellors have often abused the best of Princes.

" This is all I thought necessary to advertise thee of, touching this publication, and so leave it to thy candid perusal.

" GEORGE SCOTT."

As the Address of " The Author to his Son," differs in some respects very materially from the Marchmont Manuscript, it has been thought fit to print it here at length. It will serve at the same time as a specimen of the licence of translation, practised by the Editor of the Memoirs.

" DEAR SON,

" Seeing thou hast shown thyself so willing to satisfy my expectations of the following, and observing many of my former precepts during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly to put in writing, for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of Europe, from the age of fourteen years till this present hour, together with the prosperous success and hard accidents happened to me ; hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thyself in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort, seeing no man can shew the right way better

than he who hath ofttimes chanced upon by-roads ; assuring thee that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of unbought experience, by observing the stumbling errors of others. Neither did I ever find anything more dangerous than the frequent slighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over late repentance.

“ The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old written memorials which were lying beside me in sundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been employed my self by sundry Princes, or which I have seen or observed, being in their countries, (as the purpose of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy brother, concerning the service of Princes, and meddling in their affairs, which I could not eschew, for I sought not them, but they me. I enforced my self to serve them more carefully, diligently, and faithfully than any of my companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were wise, grave, aged, and experimented ; as with the Prince Elector Palatine, and the old Duke of Montmorancy, Constable of France, who had the whole rule and government of the country under King Henry II., his master and mine, who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their service ; not without extream and dangerous envy of such of my companions as were naturally inclined to that vile vice, whom I took great pains, by patience, presents, and humility to gain, obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to serve Princes of younger years and of less experience, at the first by the like diligence, care, and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their servants ; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery, and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other as meekest and ablest for the service of their Prince, to the wreck of him and his country, craving the Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their society. Thus the Prince's good qualities being smothered with such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those who shot only at their own marks, some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true, and plain speakers, so that no more hope could be left of a gracious government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and country, wherethrough fell out many foul, strange, and sad accidents, as may be afterward seen and read : Princes misused and abused, their country robbed, their best and truest servants wrecked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences ; others, ay, such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and dis-

creet, because of the destruction of those who went before them, but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain, and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft times read of the wreck and backward rewards of all such true faithful servants and counsellors as were most careful of the weal and safety of their Prince, in resisting and gainstanding the devices of the wicked sort, and sometimes minding the Prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs and errors at their appetite ; yet I left not off from what I thought my duty, neither for fear nor danger, to oppose myself continually to the false fetches of such minions, until, I must confess, rather following the extremity than the right midst, I lost my credit with the Prince, and tint my reward, reposing over much trust upon their constancy and my good service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest men. With over-late repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Boussie when he was left and disliked by his master, crying out, ‘ Alas ! wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity ; seeing that Princes who get the fruit of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest servants ? ’ I perceive well that to continue in their favour, they should not be served with uprightness, but with wyliness ; and instead of using free language for their honour and preservation, their servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their pleasure and will ; which may be easily done by the dullest sort of men : But my daft opinion was, that I might stand by honesty and virtue ; which I find now to be but a vain imagination, and a scholastical discourse, unmeet to bring men to any profitable preferment : And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same mind and nature, and, by a just call and command, first of the Queen his Majesty’s mother, and afterward of himself, having more matter and greater warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise, and reprove the Prince to gainstand all evil instruments, took the more freedom, finding myself thereto in duty obliged, against the rule given by Seneca to Lucullus, saying, ‘ If thou desirest to be agreeable to great Princes, do them many services, and speak to them few words.’ Plato was of the same opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty ; therefore should the wise courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word, or deed : For being once in disgrace with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again, do what they will. Sometimes a man may discreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good service ; but cast not up thy service, nor be importunate in demanding reward : Therefore be not so audacious as to find fault with thy Prince’s



proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited ; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their favourites and minions, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsoever recreation they find the Prince inclined to ; not as by way of flattery, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the Prince ; they never appear discontent, although he do not reward them in due time ; they never challenge him of breach of promise, in case he break it. In many of these rules I confess I have overshot my self, for too great fervency towards the Prince's service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit : For otherwise I should have, at the earnest desire of the House of Guise, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of France, titled in the Queen's ear, That her rebellious subjects, who had, at their own hands, without her authority, changed religion, should have been exemplarily punished as rebels and traitors : That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the reformed religion, it would be constructed as meanness of spirit, and that she wanted authority to curb such a mutinous people : That it was below her, at the arrogant desire of her nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what servants she pleased ; seeing hence there might be ground to alledge there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could most confide. This kind of language would probably have most suited her Majesty's humour, and would have procured to myself great bribes from Riccio and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a true friend to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that seeing her subjects had now embraced the Protestant religion, looking upon the Popish principles as damning, it was not her interest to do any thing that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their religion ; that as the entertaining of Riccio gave to all such some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known enemy to their religion ; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to perswade her to re-establish that religion which she herself professed ; so it gave just ground of discontent to the nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majesty upon a stranger, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be ; and reflecting upon their loyalty, as if she had more trust to place in a stranger than in her own native countrymen and born subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl

of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's interest to marry the said Earl ; but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life : and tell her Majesty, that those who had so advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer, would leave a tash upon her name, and give too much ground of jealousy, that she had consented to that foul deed. I wanted not fair offers from Randolph and Killegrew, residents here from the Court of England, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to myself, if I would have gone along with the Earl of Arran, by counselling the King's Majesty to follow his violent advices ; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think myself engaged to warn his Majesty, that he was a dangerous man who gave him such advices ; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable precipices ; that his Majesty's hearkning to the Duke of Lennox and him, the one a Papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his subjects' minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took ; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me store of enemies : But it was always my principle, rather to hazard myself by plain speech when it was necessary, than to expose my master to danger by silence or base flattery. And though the common practice, which I mentioned ere while, may seem to thrive best in some courts for a time ; yet under grave and wise Princes, and at long run, the honest maxims will prove most acceptable and safe : Therefore, I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from sawciness and assentation ; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to publick affairs ; and though thou mayst bend with the necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go ; and humour the Prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season ; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer any thing to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner : And though for that time it be disrelishing or slighted, yet when he

sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest advice for time future. And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world ; to whose gracious Providence I commit thee, with the hearty well wishes and benison of

“ Thy Dearly Loving Father,

“ JAMES MELVIL.”

The second edition of Melville's Memoirs, was published at Edinburgh in the year 1735, in octavo. The following advertisement was prefixed :—

“ The character of Sir James Melvil, the author of the following Memoirs, being so well known to all that are conversant in the transactions of those times in which he wrote, and particularly, his great candour and impartiality, as well as his deep knowledge in the affairs which he relates, and in which he himself had a considerable share, being so much celebrated by some of the best historians who have appeared since his time, it is not to be expected that any thing that we can say concerning him or his performance will add any new recommendation to them. All that is incumbent on us is, to inform our readers, that the copies of the former edition being long since sold off, and now very rarely to be met with, except in the libraries of the curious, we were prevailed upon, by the advice of several judicious and learned gentlemen, to undertake this new edition. In doing whereof, great care has been taken to rectify several mistakes and errors that had escaped in the former edition ; particularly in the names of persons and places, whether occasioned by the faultiness of the copy, or, which is more probable, by the ignorance of the printer, who has therein also misled the French translator of it in several instances. We have moreover been at no small pains to adjust the pointing of the sentences, which has been so much neglected in the former editions, as in many places to render the author's sense obscure, and sometimes altogether unintelligible ; which any who compares the two editions together, will easily discover. Finally, that nothing might be wanting on our part, we have corrected the Index in a great many places, and rendered it more accurate and useful than the former one. Upon the whole, we may venture to hope, that this Work, besides the considerable abatement made in the Price, will come abroad with several advantages above what it had in the first publication of it.”

The work was reprinted at Glasgow in 1751 ; 12mo.

A Translation into French was published at the Hague in 1694; 2 tom. 8vo.—It was reprinted at Lyons in 1695; and at Amsterdam in 1704.

A new or improved Translation appeared in 1745, under the following title —“ *Memoires de Melvil, traduits de l'Anglois, avec des additions considerables.*—A Edimbourg, Chez Barrows et Young, M.DCC.XLV, 3 tom.” small 8vo. The work was evidently printed abroad. The additions, which fill the third volume, consist of *Letters*, written chiefly by Queen Mary, selected from various printed works. There is prefixed the following “*Avertissement* :”—

“ Les Memoires que l'on donne au public ne doivent pas lui être inconnus—Ils ont parù en françois il y a près de 50 ans. Mais le stile de cette traduction est fort suranné, et d'ailleurs elle est si rare, qu'elle ne se trouve presque plus que dans les grandes Bibliothèques, et dans les cabinets de quelques Sçavans. Un grand Magistrat a désiré que l'on donnât à ces Memoires une nouvelle forme, et m'a fait l'honneur de me charger de ce travail. J'ai donc refondu entièrement cette traduction, je me suis appliqué à la rendre conforme à l'original Anglois, dont le traducteur s'etoit quelquefois écarté, et je l'ai augmentée d'un volume qui a une liaison naturelle avec ces Memoires. C'est un recueil des lettres de Marie Stuart, les unes originales, les autres traduites de l'Anglois et du Latin. J'ajouterai aux eclaircissemens que l'Editeur Anglois nous a donnés au sujet de ces Memoires, le jugement que M. l'Abbé de M. en porte dans l'Histoire de Marie Stuart. ‘ Melvil etoit le contemporain, le Ministre, et l'ami de la Reine d'Ecosse . . . Ses Memoires sont le plus précieux monument historique de son regne. . . Ils sont écrits avec cette simplicité et cette candeur qui font le caractère de l'honnête homme, et qui inspirent la confiance. . . Il suivoit sans passion le parti de l'erreur où le malheur de sa naissance l'avoit engagé; et il ne montre ni fiel ni partialité contre les Catholiques.’ ”

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COMPARATIVE SPECIMENS OF THE HANDWRITING  
OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

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No. I. Extracts from the Manuscript of Sir James Melville's Memoirs,  
in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir G. H. Rose.

No. II. An Original Letter from Sir James Melville to Sir Thomas  
Randolphe, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts, now in the  
British Museum; Burghley Papers, Num. xv. 20.

## No. I.

MS. Memoirs, Page 113.

The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facillite to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again sa schone as Liddingtoun had schawen him the danger, and desyrit the accusation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had some mair to add vnto it. Bot they said, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receaue any vther addition when he pleased to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had anough ado to keip his contenance; Mester Jhon Wod winket vpon the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him; the rest of the Regentis company wer lauchen vpon other; the secretary Liddingtoun had a sair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the consaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his logging at Kingistoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had anough ado to confort him.

. . . . .

MS. Memoirs, Page 161.

The vrgent necessite of the tym, maist noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maisteis hand, I prey the eternell,  
Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halbill, this  
15 of October, 1583.

Your Maisteis maist humble and obedient seruitour,

JAMES MELVILLE.



The vagrant who had come brought his furniture to break up the door of Norfolk  
 reported him again so please at Liddington said to him for the danger. and desired  
 the attorney to be present to him again alleging that he had some more to add  
 unto it, but they said that they would justly get quicklier said, and was made by  
 someone and their addition when he played to, gave it up. The door of Norfolk  
 said amongst a deal to keep his reputation, might they not think upon the first  
 day or tell, who might again upon him, the rest of the vagrant to pay me  
 leaving upon other, the former Liddington had a fair part. The vagrant ran  
 for most of the week long at the door in his day, and past to his lodging at  
 Liddington a mile from court, when he fastened firmly had enough to run  
 foot him,

The vagrant myself of the year, most miserable of all but your example  
 me to be so long and tedious finally making garden and South  
 hoping your most hand. I pray the strength  
 for to grant your by me and long and happy life. from Robert the  
 15. of October. 1583.

Your most humble and obedient servant.  
 James McCallister





James M. M. M.  
27 of March  
1871

## No. II.

As armytis wer wont to retire them in solitary places, euen so am I drawn to a quyet maner of lyving, content wyth the portion which God has geuen me, wha has also mouit the hartis of my l. Regentis g. and the nobilite to be protectours of my quyetnes; quhill is such that I neyther am curious of newes nor desirous of negotiations. I couet till vnderstand of your weifair sene ye was maried, and how mester Killigrew and mester Walsingame dois, and how mester Dru Drowrie dois, and how the marchall is in prosperete. Wer not that ye ar bot laityly maried, I wald pitie your caice that can get na rest bot is still occupied with combersome occupations, wherby it apperis that sic as procured for yow this voyage wes your frend, and gene ye procured it your self, ye was your awen frend. I haue conceaued a fym oppinion that ye wald haue schifted till fairer wether, wer not that ye ar vtterly myndit till peacefy our troublit estait, wherby ye may wyp away the wicked oppinion of the vulgaire that beleues the contrary, and now and then will speak ther pleasour. What so euer he be that parturbes my quyet lyf and estait with any busynes will get as mekle thanks as Alexander had of Deogines, when he stod betwix hym and the sonne; therefore I pray yow fauour my quyetnes and find na falt that I presse not till com wher ye ar, for my affection toward yow of auld is sa ruted, that it most be yet a greter storm and a more vehement blast before it can be blawen out and away, Howbeit, I haue yet matter and store of flyting keping for conuenient tym. this with my hartly commendations I tak my leif, preying the eternell till send a gud succes to your affaires concerning concord. Wreten at mordow karny this xiiij day of marche.

Your crabit auld and constand

affectioned frend

JAMES MELVILLE.

(*In dorso.*)

To the Rycht Honorable  
Sir Thomas Randolphe, Knycht,  
one of the Quenes matels.  
. . . inglandis ambassadours  
presently in Scotland.



MEMORIALIS BE SIR JAMES MELVILLE,  
SPECEFEING OF MATTERS WHERINTILL HE HES BENE EMPLOYED  
BE SINDRIE PRINCES OR HAS SEEN AND VNDERSTAND  
BEING IN THER COURTIS OR CONTREES,  
TO SERUE FOR AN EXEMPLER OF LYF AND TETTER BEHAUOUR  
TO HIS SONNIS CONCERNING THE SERUICE OF PRINCES  
AND MEDLING IN THER AFFAIRES.

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M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.



## THE AUTHOR TO HIS SON.

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P. I. **S**ONE, ſen thou hes ſchauen thy ſelf ſa willing to ſatiſſie my expectation of the, in folowing and obſeruyng many of my formar preceptis during thy yong yeares, I grant now vnto the thy requeſtis the mair glaidly, quhilk is to put in wret for thy better memorie findrie thingis that thou had hard me rehers betymes, baith concernyng maneris, with ſome meit preceptis for thy barnely age; and alſo how to temper the rage of furious youth be the reull of godlynes and raiſoun; quhilk tua tretifes haue ſerued alſo vnto the reſt of thy brether and ſiſters. And now entring in rype age, to let the wit what tred of lyf I had led during my perigrination throw the maiſt part of Europe, from the age of 14. yeares vntill this preſent day, together with the proſperous ſucces and hard accidentis happenit vnto me in the mean tyme; hopping that thou ſalbe na les ernest and diligent to help thy ſelf be my ſaltis in dew tyme, and not tary vpon the hurtfull experience of the commoun ſort, ſen na man can ſchaw the richt way better than he that has oft tymes chancit vpon by roddis. Aſſuring the that, nyxt vnto the ſpeciall fauour of God, naething ſtode me in

mair ftede then the eirly embrassing of vnbocht experience be the ftonbling errours of vthers, nor fand nathing mair domegeable then the omitting oft tymes of any fean exemple, quhilk brocht euer with it oure lait repentance.

The maist part of thingis that I purpos to set down presently ar certane auld wreten memorialis that wer lying befyd me in findrie pieces, fpecefeing of matters wherintill I haue bene employed my self be findrie princes, or has seen and vnderstand being in ther courtis or contrées, (as the purposes of them selues will declare) to serue for an exemplar of lyf and better behauour to the and thy brether, concerning the seruice of princes and medling in ther affaires, quhilk I culd not eschew; for I focht them not bot they me, yet enforcit my self to serue them mair cairfully diligently and faithfully than any of my compaignons; wherby I wan gretest fauour with them that wer wyfe grave aged and experimented, as with the Prince Electour Palatin and auld Duc of Momorency Constable of France, wha had the haill reull and gouvernement of the contrey vnder K. Henry 2. his maister and myn; wha wer sa constant that ther fauour lasted sa lang as I remanit in ther seruice, not without the extrem and dangerous enuy of sic of my compaignons as wer naturally inclynit to that vill vice; whom I tok gret paines also be patience presentis and humilite till won, and to set aside part of ther malice. Bot when it chancit me efterwart to serue princes of yonger yeares and of les experience, at the first of ther princely naturell I also anes, be the lyk diligence cair and fidelite, obtenit ther fauour abone many of the rest of ther saruandis; yet at lenth they wer caried away be the craft and enuy of sic as culd subtilly creip into ther conceatis be flattery, and be juning them selues to-



P. 2. gether in ane defeatfull felowſhip; enery ane of them ſetting out others as meateſt and ableſt for the ſervice of ther maſter, to the weall of him and his contrey; craving the prince to be ſecret and not to communicat his ſecretis or any of his adois bot to ther ſociete. Sa the princes kyndly and gud qualites being cled and ſinored with ſic a company, wer commonly and ſklauifchly led efter the paſſions and particularites of them that ſchot only at ther awen markis; ſome of them continually poſſeſſing his ear, and debarring therfra all honeſt trew and plain ſpeakers, ſa that na mair hope wald be left of a gracious gouvernement, nor place for gud men to help ther prince and contrey. Wherthrow fell out many foull ſtrange and hard accidentis, as may be ſean and red heir-etter, of princes ſa miſuſed and abuſed, ther contrey perturbed, ther beſt and treweſt ſaruan- diſ wrakit, and the wicked inſtrumentis at lenth perriſſit with all ther hich and fyn pretences; vthers ay ſic lyk ſucceding in ther place, never ane taking example to becom mair temperat and diſcret at the deſtruction of ther deuanciers, bot as fercely following ther gredy vain and ambitious pretences, obtening the lyk tragicall rewardis. For my part, albeit I had ſean and oftymes red of the wrak and backward rewardis of all ſic trew faithfull conſellours and ſaruan- diſ as wer maiſt cairfull for the weill and ſaiffete of ther prince, in reſiſting and gainſtanding the deuyces of the wickit fort, and ſometymes the prince for ſuffering them ſelues to be ſa led be them as to commit many wrangis and erroris at ther appetit, I left not aff nather for fear nor danger till oppon and withſtand ſa continually againſt the falſe fetchis of ſie mingnons, vntill I mon confeſs therby rather following the rud extre- myte then the richt midis, I loſt my credit with the prince and tint my reward; reſoping ouermekle vpon ther conſtancy and my gud

ſeruiſe, quihilk lies bene oft ane hurtfull oppinion vnto honeſt men, with ouer lait repentance. I was compellit to lament, as did Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Buſſy when he was left and miſlyked be his maiſter, crying out, “ Alace wherfore ſuld men be ernest till ſurpaſs ther marrowes in worthynes and fidelite, ſeing that princes wha getis the fruit of our labours lykis not to hear of planetiſ, bot of plaiſant ſpeeches, and ar eaſely alterit without occaſion vpon ther treweſt ſaruandis : I perſaue weall that for to continow in ther fauour, they ſuld not be ſerued with vprichtnes bot with wylynes ; and inſteid of fre langage for ther honour and preſeruation, till fram and accomod our ſelues to ther pleaſour and will, quihilk may be eaſely done be the doildeſt ſort of men : Bot my daſt oppinion was that I mycht ſtand be honeſtie and vertu, quihilk I find now to be bot a vain imagination and a ſcoleſticall diſcours, vnmeit to bring men till any profitabile preferrement ; and yet my naturell,” ſaid he, “ will not ſuffer me till procead be any vther meanis.” I being of the ſame mynd and natour, and be a juſt calling and command firſt of the Quen his maieſteis mother and afterwart of him ſelf, had mair matter and a greter warrand then many vthers, alſweill till admoniſch advertiſ and reprove the prince as till gainſtand all euell

P. 3. inſtrumentis ; againſt the reull geuen be Seneca to Lucilius, ſaying, Gif thou deſyres to be agreable to gret princes, do them many ſeruiſes and ſpeak to them few wordis ; Plato being of the ſame oppinion. The fauour of princes being obtenit be gret pain and trauell and reſtenit with gret difficulte ; therfoir ſuld the wyſe courteour be laith till offend them, cyther be geſtour word or dede ; for being anes in diſgrace with them, they may weill forgif, bot thou ſall never be ſa gret with them again do what thou will. Sometymes a man may diſcretly put

the prince in remembrance of his lang and gud seruice, bot cañ not oft vp his seruice, nor be not importun nor så audacious as to find falt with the princes proceedingis; nor to geue aduysè vurequyred, nor aduertissement without gud assurance to get credit; for princes lykis not nor takis na head bot to sic thingis as ar tald them be ther fauoritis and mingnons, wha commonly seem to allow, and to tak pleasour of whatsoeuer pastym or occupation that they can persæue ther prince to be maist inclynit vnto, not as be way of flattery, bot be way of yelding and leaving their auen pleisour, to tak panes to pleise the prince and till assist him in sic honest pastetym as he delitis intill; and will neuer seem to be miscontent with the prince, albeit he reward them not in dew tym; nor reproche him of his promysè incaice he brek it, nor that he has done better till vthers that haue not så weall deserued. In many of thir reules I confes that I haue oft tymes ouerschot my self, for ouer gret seruency towardis the princes seruice, and ouer gret forgetfulnes of my auen particulier aduancement and profit.

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## SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.

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OUR yong Quen Marie being contractit with Kyng Edwart the tēxt then only heritour of England as hir Maieſte was of Scotland, that this haill yll mycht be junit in ane monarchie, hir Maieſte be the practyes of hir Frenche parentis and Scotis prelatis was tranſported in France be the weſt ſea. Wherupon fell out a furious wair betuen the twa contrees, to the loifs of many Scotifmens lyves at the battaill of Pincky, wherin France wer gret medlers and ſend heir a ſex thowſand men of wair, and alſo Jehan de Monluc biſhop of Vallance for ambaffadour to the Gouvernour, and Quen mother ſiſter to the Duc of Guiſe. And when the ſaid ambaffadour was to retourn in France, it pleiſit the Quen to ſend me with him to be placit paige of honour with the Quen hir dochter, I being then 14. yeares paſt. Bot the ſaid biſhop paſt firſt in Yreland, be commandement of the King his maiſters letter, to knaw mair particularly the motion and lyklyhead of the offers maid be Onell, Odonell, Odocart and Caloch, willing to caſt off the yok of England and becom ſubiect to the King of France, provyding that he wald procure the Paipes gift of Yreland, and then ſend to ther help 2000 hacbuters 200 leicht horſe men and four canons.

P. 4. The said ambaffadour fchippit in at Vruyng in the moneth of Januar the year 1549 toward Yreland, and was stormefted be the way in a little yll callit Sand yll before Kiltyre, wher we wer compellit to tary xvij dayes be raisoun of the ftorme. From Sande we failed towardis Yreland, bot the ftorme was yet fa extream that with gret danger of the fchip and of our lyues we entrit in at the mouth of Lochfeull in Yreland, vpon Fastrons euen in the said year 1549; for the skipper and marineris had tint all hope of faiffetie, having left ther ankers cutted behind them the nycht before. Before our landing we fent ane George Paris, who had bene fent in Scotland from the gret Onell and his afociatis, wha landit at the houfe of a gentilman that had married Odocartis dochter dwelling at the loch ege, wha cam in to our fchip and welcomed vs, and convoyed ws to his hous wher we refted that nycht. The nyxt mornyng Odocarte cam ther and convoyed ws to his hous quhilk was a gret dark tour, wher we had cauld cheir as hering and biskuit, for it was lentroun. Ther finding twa English grey freris that wer fled out of England, for K. Edward the 6. was yet alyue, the said freres perfaving the bifhop to mak a compt of Odocartis dochter, wha fled him continowally, they brocht to him a woman that fpak Englis to ly with him; whilk harlet being keped quyetly in his chamber, fand a little glafs within a kaice ftanding in a window, for the coffers wer all wet be the fea wallis that fell in the fchip during the ftorm. Bot fche beleuit it had bene ordonit to eat becaufe it had ane odoriphant finell, therefore fche lickit it clean out; quhilk put the bifhop in fic a rage that he cryed out for impatience, and difcouerit his harlettrie and his colair in fic fort as the freris fled and the woman folowed. Bot the Yrifch men and his auen faruandis leuch at the matter, for

it was a phioll of the only maist precious balm that grew in Egypt, whilk Solyman the gret Turc had geuen in a present to the said bischop efter he had bene twa yeares ambassadour for the K. of France in Turkey, and was esteamed worth twa thowlsand crownis. In this mean tym that we remanit at Odocartis hous, his yong dochter wha fled fra the bischop cam and socht me wher euer I was, and brocht a prest with hir that culd speak Englis, and offerit gif I wald mary hir to goe with me till any part wher I pleasit,—efter I had geuen hir thankis, and schew that I was yet yong and had na rentis and was boun till France.

Now the ambassadour met at a quyet part with Onell and his assiters and hard ther offers and ouertures. And ther cam and met him the Patriark of Yreland wha was a Scotis man born callit Wachop, and was blind of baith his eyn, yet had bene dyuers tymes at Rome be post. He did gret honour to the ambassadour, and convoyed him to see S<sup>t</sup> Patrikis purgatorie, quhilk is lyk ane auld cole hugh that had tane fyre, be raisoun of the reak that ascendit out of the holl. From Odocartis hous we went to the dwelling place of the bischope of Roy, not far from the narow firth that runns throw Lochfeull to the sea. The said Earisch bischop had bene also at Rome; and ther we rested a thre weekis, tarieing vpon ane lomfaid or heland bark quhilk James Maconell fuld haue send from Kiltyre with his brother Angus to cary ws bak to Dombartane; quhilk being com for ws, we parted to ane castell quhilk the said Maconell had in Yreland, and fra that we inbarkit and rested a nycht in the yll of Jura, and the nyxt nycht in the yll of But. Bot be the way we tint our ruddour and was in gret perell of drownynge; bot Angus efter he had tane down the sail said that we wer saif, and had drownit wer not that ded of his.

p. 5. When we cam to Kiltyre James Maconell traited ws honorably, and said that the bishop was the welcommer for my saik, becaufe he was frendly intraited of my father when he was wardit in the castell of Dombar during the tym that my father was capten therof; of whom he maid ane honorable report to the said bishop,—occasion that I was ay the langer the better traited; for the bishop said he beleuit to haue bene rather welcom for that he was recommendit be the Quen douagier as ambafadour to the K. of France. Alwais Maconell wald haue me to sit at the head of the burd. Efter he had cased land ws at Dombartane be his said brother Angus, we raid to Stirling, wher efter aucht dayes the ambafadour tok his leaue at the Quen and raid again to Dombartane, wher ther wer twa Frenche schippis (that had brocht filuer in Scotland to pay the French soldiours) redy to refaue ws. Sa sailing by the yll of Man and langis the fouth coift of Yreland, we landit at Conquet in Britany aucht dais efter our inbarking, not without some dangers be the way baith of Englis schippis and a gret storme, sa that anes at midnycht the marineris cryed that we wer all loist.

At Breft in Britany the bishop tok post toward the court of France, quhilk was in Paris for the tym. And becaufe I was yong and he supponit I mycht not indure the post, he directed twa Scottis gentilmen with whais father he was acquainted in Scotland to be cairfull for me be the way; for we bocht thre little naigis to pass be journey ryding to Paris. He also requested the said twa brether to be cairfull for me and not to let me want any necessary thing be the way, quhilk he fuld recompense at meting. He left with me sa mekle filuer as to by a naig and to be my expences till Paris. Now we thre inquiryed and fand out twa yong men, the ane a Frenchman the other a Britone,



that wer to ryd that same way ; as also a yong gentilman of Spain wha was passing also to the college at Paris. Our first dayes journey from Breft was to a town callit Laderny, wher we wer all sex logit in a chamber with thre bedis. The tua Frenche had ane bed, the tua Scotis another, and the yong Spainart and I the thrid bed. First I hard the twa Scottifinen devyfen how they wer directed be the bischop to let me want nothing ; “ therfore ” said they “ we will pay for his ordinaire all the way, and fall compt vp twyfe as mekle to his master when we com to Paris, and sa fall wone our awen expences.” Then the twa Frenche not beleving that any of us vnderstod Frenche wer saying betuen tham, “ thir strangers ar all yong, and knawes not the fasshon of the hosteleries, therefore we fall deall and reken with the oistis at every repast and fall cause the strangers pay mair nor the custome is, and that way fall we saif our expentis,” and went about the nyxt day to put it in execucion. Bot I culd not refrain laughing in my mynd, and tald the yong Spainart, for I vnderstod alredy the Frenche, sa we war vpon our gardis. Yet the tua Scotis yong men wold not consent that I shuld pay for myself, hopping still to begyll the bischop, but the Spainart and I wret vp every dayes compt. Be the way ryding throw a wood the tua Frenchemen had appointed vther tua femyng to ryd with ws, quhilk tua in the midis of the wood leichted aff ther horse and drew out ther fuerdis. The twa Frenchemen behalding our contenance and seing that we maid us for deffence, they tua drew out also ther fuerdis. Than they maid a sport of it, and wald bot se as they allegit wha wald be feared and wha wald be stout, in caice we mycht be set vpon be brigandis betuen that and Paris. Bot the tua last louns left vs at the nyxt loging, and the twa Scotis scollairs never obtenit paye-

P. 6. ment fra the biſhop, for ther pretendit fraud. We wer xiiij dayes in ryding betuen Breſt and Paris, wher we arryuit efter Paice in the moneth of Aprill the year 1550.

The ſpaice of a moneth efter our arriuall at Paris, the biſhop of Vallence was ſent to Rome, and becauſe he tok poſt he left me behind him at Paris to learn to play vpon the lut and to wret Frenche. I can not tell wherfore he preſented me not to our yong Quen as he promyſed; albeit efterwart he ſaid that he was myndit to mak me his air.

The cauſe wherfore the K. of France ſend him to Paip Jules is this. Paip Paull the 3. had changit ſome landis of the kirk with Parme and Plaiſance, twa townis appartenyng of befoir to the ducky of Mylan, and gaue them to his ſone Piere Louys Farnez, wha married his eldeſt ſone Octauius vpon the baſtard dochter of themperour Charles V. The ſaid Piere Louys being mourdrift for his deteſtable vyces, the nyxt Paip callit Jules pretendit to bring again the ſaid twa townis to the kirk, in ſtead of the other kirklandis that wer eſcambiond for them; compelling the Duc Octauius, (finding him ſelf onable to gainſtand the Paipes forces) to put the ſaid townis in the K. of Frances cuſtody; for he was in aſgret fear of themperour his gud father, wha had gottin the poſſeſſion of the duedome of Mylan. And to that effect he ſend his brother Orace Duc of Caſters in France, to whom K. Henry 2. of France gaif his baſtard dochter in mariage; the K. of France being as ernest to have a ſut in Ytaly as was themperour to ſtop him therfra, be raiſoun of Mylan and Neaples quhilk the K. claimed and themperour had in poſſeſſion. And ſa ſchon as he ſaw the Frenche garniſouns within the town of Parma he tok plaine part with the Paip; quhilk moued the K. of France to pratek a paice with K. Edward the ſext of Eng-

land, be the meanis of the Duc of Northumberland, wha in secret had a trait frendship with France, and had a mark of his auen that he schot at, as his proceedingis efterwart declaired.

The paice with England being concludit, that K. Edward fuld mary Elyzabeth eldest dochter to K. Henry 2. of France, and that he fuld geue his consent that the Quen of Scotland wha was betrowthed to him fuld be married with Francois Delphin of France, in quhilk paice Scotland being also comprehendit, in the mean tym the bischop of Vallence returnyng fra Rome without any acceptable expedition, wer causes also that the dealling betwen France and Onell of Yreland cessit. And in the mean tym the K. of France set fourth ane proclamation forbidding his hail subiectis not to send to Rome for any bulles or confirmation of benifices ; quhilk together with the agrement with England pat the Paice in a gret fear that France wald become protestantis for dispyt, as K. Hary the 8. had done laitly of before ; and was the mair confirmed in this oppinion be raisoun of ane army that was schortly efter maid redy to pass in Germany to the aid of the princes protestantis, wher the K. Henry 2. led him self in persone l. thowland men. For then many of the Germanis wer becom protestantis, throw the insolent avarice of the Paice and schameles proceedingis of his fellers of pardones, and be the zeall and baldnes of Martin Luter ; wha being persecuted therfore, was menteanit and assisted be the gud Duc Jhon Frederik of Sax, with the Landgrau and other princes of the empyre.

Wherupon themperour Charles 5. tok occasion, vnder pretext of menteaning the catholik Romain religion, to pretend to bring the empyre and hail dominions therof as patrimony to him and his posterite ;

and that way abandonit his gud sone the Duc Octauiio to the Paipes discretion, for his greter assistance against the Germanis ; quhilk pre-  
 P. 7. tence themperor brought anes till a neir passe. For efter that themperour had vincutt the protestantis in battaill and tane prisoner the Duc Jhon Frederik, he past throw the maist part of the provinces and fre townes of Dutcheland and tok fra them ther liberties, placing officers at his plesour ; and gat fra them of giftis and ransomis xvj hundreth thousand crownis and v hundreth piece of artillerie. Yet he redoutted the Landgraue, wha was a vaillyant prince and chancit to be absent from the said battaill. Therefore he delt with the Duc Maurice gud sone to the said Landgraue to perswad his gud father to com in vnder assurance and promys, quhilk themperour brak, re-tenyng the said Landgraue captiue vpon the subtilite of a fillabe.

This Duc Maurice was culing to the Duc of Sax captiue, and had obtenit the electorat of Sax, quhilk themperour tok fra the Duc his culing and gaif him ; wherfore he assisted with themperour as a fyn courteour, and helped him gretly in his victories against his contrey and frendis for promotion. Bot when the Landgraue cryed out vpon him, calling him schelm, poltroun, traitour, and disceauer of him whais dochter he had married, he maid oft tymes earnest sut to themperour for the libertie of his gud father in vain ; themperour alleging na promys to be broken vnto the said Landgraue, causing the letter of promys and pacification to be red in his presens in the Dutch leid, wherintill ther was a wreten word quhilk mycht haue bene interpret dyuerstly ; to wit this word *enig* was interpret be themperour *perpetuell*, and be the Landgraue and Duc Maurice it was tane for *null* or

*nane* ; bot they culd not mend them felues, for themperour said that the Landgraue shuld not be keped in perpetuell prisoun. Sa the Landgraue was tua yeares sa straitly keped be the Spaniartis that oft in the nycht they held a leicht candle to his faice to be assured that he was sleping, and angred him sa that for dispyt he wald spit in ther faices ; crying out continoually against Maurice, wha was not slepen, bot had sent secretly to the K. of France, declairing how not only his gud father and he wer sa disceaued and misused be themperour, bot also how that he had begun alredy to raue the liberties of the empyre, to change the estait in a monarchie, against his aith and promyse maid at his election and crounation ; and that, vnder pretext till suppress heresies, sa assisted be the Paip that he was lyk to prevaill ; preing the King not till suffer them that wer his frendis to be sa opprest, nor his compeditours to ryse ouer gret. Wherupon the said K. tok occasion till convey his armye in Allemaigne, seamyng to seek ther liberte ; he tok and pat him self in possession in his by passing, of Mets, Tow and Verdun, thre gret Imperiall townis and bischoprickis, quhilk he bruikis to this hour.

In the mean tym the Duc Maurice, lying at the seige of Madebourg lieutenant for themperour, making na mair semblance of discontentement for the Landgraues retention, bot rather seamyng to be sa obliit vnto themperour that had sa highly aduancit him, lyk a fyn courteour that he wald set forduart all his maisters procedingis and commandementis be they richt or wrang. Yet the Duc of Alb allegit in secret counsaill with themperour that Maurice lingert ouer lang at the seige of the said toun, and that he was to be suspected because themperour had offendit him. Bot Granvell bischop of Arras in the contraire said that

fic doild Dutch dronken headis nedit not to be doutted ; and then that tua of the said Dukis confellours wer pensioners to his sacred Maieste, and aduertist him continowally of all the Dukis maist secret deliberations and doingis. Yet they thocht expedient to send for the Duc, to se gif he wald obey or mak some excuse.

P. 8. Bot the Duc Maurice had the subtilite asgret as any Spaniard of themperours confaill, and knew weill enough how that themperour had pratikit tua of his secretaires and confellours ; discembling to know any thing therof, aperit till do nathing by them, and to deliberat all his enterpryses in ther pretens, wherby themperour was abused ; and when the said Duc was wreten for, he tok post incontinent towards the court, having in his company ane of the suburnit confellours ; whom he sent before till assure themperour that he was folowing at leaser, be raisown of a fairnes in his syd quhilk vfed sometymes to vex him. Bot the Duc had secretly commandit his lieutenant to bring efter him the haill army with all possible diligence and till marche nycht and day, sa that he surprysed themperour ; wha was compellit to ryse from his supper and fle fourth of Ynsbruck with torche liecht, and sa vtterly out of Dutcheland that he set never his fut within it again.

This being done he sent to the K. of France, wha was with his armye besyd Strawsbourg, geving him gret thankis for his paines, aduertifing him of themperours fleing, praing him to return hame with his armye ; for Maurice was discontent of the taking of the thre Imperiall townis ; and in the mean tym haited throw the contre and restored euery fre town and circle to ther formair liberteis.

Themperour again fearing to be compellit, set at liberte the Duc of Sax and the Landgraue of Hesse. Finding him self frustrat of his he-



ritable expectation, and vnderſtanding that the Duc Maurice had a gret gruge againſt the King for raving fraudfully the thre forſaid townis from the empyre, he delt with Maurice ſecretly, allowing all that he had done ; and that way being reconcyled, baith together cam, in vain, and layed the ſiege to the town of Metz, quhilk the K. of France brukis with the reſt vnto this day. Wherby may be obſeruit how dangerous it is in ciuil diſcention to bring in gret companies of ſtrangers for to ſupport any of the parties.

This mekle anent the affaires of Dutcheland may appeir to be on-partinent for me to wret, becauſe I was bot yong for the tym, and not preſent in the French armye, for the biſhop of Vallence remanit behind at Paris. Bot efterwart when I was in Germany, I was mair particularly infourmed of the haill be the gud Prince Electour Palatin then I beleue any other knew that hes wreten therof.

During the tym that the ſaid biſhop abaid at Paris, not willing to tyn tym, was deſyrous to haue ſome entre in the art of matematique ; and for that effect fand out a gret ſcollair in dyuers hich ſeyences callit Cavatius, and another callit Mons<sup>r</sup>. Taggot. This Cavatius tok occaſion in oft conference to tell him of tua familier ſpritis that wer in Paris, awating vpon ane auld ſchepherd wha in his youth had ſeruit a preſt, wha at his death left them to him. Wherupon the biſhop tok purpoſ, at the Kingis retournyng from his voyage of Al-maigne, to bring onto the K. the ſaid Cavatius, wha offerit to loiſe his head incaice he ſchew not the tua ſpritis to his Maieſte or till any that he wald ſend, to com in the fourn of men doggis or catis. Bot the K. cauſed burn the ſchepherd, and imprifonit the ſaid Cavatius, and wald not ſee the ſaidis ſpritis.

The other learnit man callit Taggot had bene also curious in findre of the said scyences, and had learnit be the art of palmeſterie, as he said to me him ſelf, that he wald die before he atteanit vnto the age of 28. yeares. “Wherfore” said he “I knaw the trew religion to be exercyſed at Geneua; ther will I go and end in Godis ſervice.” Sa he did, and died ther at Lauſan as he had confeaut the oppinion, as I gat word afterward.

- P. 9. At this tym the biſhop of Vallence being at court in S<sup>t</sup> Germanis, he purpoſed to preſent me vnto the Quen. In the mean tym capten Ringan Cocburn, then ane of the Scotis gard, had obtenit leaue to paſs in Scotland and was newly returnit. This capten was a buſy medler, and had ſometymes refuge and frequentation amang my frendis, and aſkit gene I culd ſpeak gud Frenche, quhilk I denyed. Alwayes he ſaid that he had a matter of importance to ſchaw vnto the Conſtable, wha then had the haill reull of France vnder the King, and requested me to be his interpretair, for he wanted French him ſelf; bot he wald not declair the purpos bot in the Conſtables preſens. We attendit at the yſſue of his denner, when he was to geue audience to dyuers ambafſadours. He commandit us to await at his chamber dur about twa efternun, quhilk hour he failed not to keip. Efter he had hard the ambafſadours and maid report vnto the K. of ther demandis, advyſing him what till anſwer, now we twa wer brocht into his quyet cabinet, wher he was allane with a ſecretary callit Baik. Then the capten began to declair how that, in his lait being in Scotland, biſhop Jhon Hamiltoun, haill gyder of the Gouvernour his brother, had bene ſa extreame feak that his ſpeache was tint, with all hope of lyf or recouery. Wherupon the Quen dougier of Scotland practyfed ſa with the Gouver-



nour that he gaue ouer the gouvernement to hir and maid hir Quen Regent ;—willing me to schaw the same vnto the Constable. Bot I requyred to know farther. Then he procedit to tell how that, when the bischop of S' Androwes had recouerit his speach and health, be the help of Cardanus ane Ytalien magicien, he curled and cryed out that the Gouvernour was bot a very beaſt for geuen ouer of the gouvernement, ſeing that ther was bot a ſkitteren laſſe betuen him and the crown. Bot I grew red when the capten putted vpon me to tell this taill to the Constable, wha culd perſaue how laith I was to rehearſe it. At lenth when my ſaid Lord preſſit me, I ſaid I thoct it not worthy that his L. ſuld loife any gret tym therwith ; and ſa thoct he him ſelf, for he hard it not out, bot akit my name, and cauſit his ſecretary to wret it vp ; and gene I was a kyn to the capten, wha anſuerit in ill Frenche that I was his ſiſter ſone. The Constable ſperit at me gif it was ſa ; bot I denyed that I was ſib to him. Then he wald wit whom with I was. I ſchew him how that the biſhop of Vallence had commiſſion from the Quen Regent of Scotland to place me paige with hir dochter. Then he inquyred gif I wald tary with him in caice he mycht obtean the ſaid biſchops conſent. I ſaid I beleuit that he durſt not, in reſpect of his promyſe to the Quen Regent. He ſaid again that he had moyen to preſent me to the Quen when euer I pleaſit, bot gif I wald tary with him he ſuld aduance me and do me gud. Then I granted, gif he obtenit the biſchops gud will, to ſerue him. That ſame day he forgot not till deſyre me at the biſhop, wha lent me his gud word, and tald me efterwart that the ſaid Constable was the beſt maſter in France and mycht do me maiſt gud. Sa I entred in ſeruiſe with the ſaid Constable in the year of God 1553 in the moneth of May.

I grant that thir litle triffelis ar not worthy to be put in wret, wer not to testify of Godis gracious gudnes to the posterite of his faithfull ; as David rehearles in the psalme, “ I haue bene yong and am waxing auld, and yet I never saw the just abandonit nor ther childrene,” &c. For it was God that moued the Quen Regentis hart to tak tua of my brether in hir seruice, and to send me in France to be plaicit with hir dochter our Quen ; wha also moued the bischop to desyre me to tary with him ; and the same God moued the Constables hart to desyre me.

P. 10. In this year 1553 in the moneth of May, the Constable of France convenit a gret armye, and being the Kingis lieutenant led them first to Amyance in Picardie. For when the K. of France was in Dutche-land with his army, to help as he wald appeir the princes of thempyre, Frau Mary Quen of Hungarie then a widow, sister to the said Emperour and Regent of Flanders, enterit with ane armye in Picardie and brunt the Kingis palice of Foulanbrey, with findre vther litle townis and vilages, thinking to cause the K. com back to debait his auenboundis. Sa that the wair entrit heit betuen them ; and the K. in his back commyng beseiged and wan Yvoy, Monmedy and Danvilliers, with Boullon and some vther strang castelles.

Therefore themperour in the spring tym of the said year 1553, entrit in persone with a gret armye in Picardie, and wan Tirrouan and Hedin, and brunt dyuers litle bovirgis and vilages ; quhilk caused the Constable to pass with his army as said is to resist him. The twa armyes being bot seven leagues findre, the Constable was aduertist be ane double spy, that all themperours horfmen wer to com in the nycht and assaile the Frenche camp. Therefore he till eschew that surpryse marched all nycht fordwart towardis the enemy, with haill forces on horse and

put ; wherby he surprised them that thocht to haue found him in his bed, and gaue them the ouerthrow, wher many wer slane and some tane. Among the rest the Duc of Afcot leader of that enterpryse was tane prisoner. Efter this victory, the K. Henry 2. cam to the camp him self. Then the emperor reterit towardis the town of Valencien in Heinot, the Kingis campe folowing alwayes vpon his wyng, making dyuers dayes journey before they cam to the said Valencien ; wher the emperor set down his camp without the town vpon ane heicht, and maid trenches and deep fosses round about the same. Wher the K. presented him battaille, and taried ane haill day in vain to se gif he mycht be provoked to com fourth ; and to that effect send a number of infantis perdues to his trenches to bring on the skirmish, wher the emperor send out some companyes of horsmen, that wer schone dung bak within ther fort. In the mean tyme the emperor caused schut off his haill volce of arteillerie at our camp, with litle skaith. We wer weill enough aduertist that the emperor was determinit not to hazard battail, for he tok oppinion that fortune fauorit na mair his auld age. Therefore when nycht drew neir, the K. reterit to St Quentin, wher the Constable fell deadly feak, of the age of lxij yeares. Then baith the armyes wer send to ther winter garnisons ; the emperor to Bruxelis, the King to Paris, and the Constable to his palice of Chantillye to recouer his health.

During the winter ther wes a gret convention betuen Calis and Arders, wher the Cardinall Pole Englesch man was appointed mediator be the Paip to agre thir twa gret princes, bot without any gud effect.

Therefore the K. past first to the feildis the nyxt spring with his army, (to wit the year 1554) as the emperor had done the year before ;

at quhilk tym I was maid his penfioner be the Conftables moyen. His Maieſte beſiegit and wan firſt Marianbrough a trim town, and a gret ſtrength apperteyning till Frau Mary callit Marymont. He tok alſo hir palice of Baings and brint it, in ſtede of Foulambrye quhilk ſche had brunt of before. He tok alſo Bovin, and at lenth Dynan ; bot the caſtell of Dynan ſitued vpon ane heich rok was ſtoutly debaited be capten Julien a Spanyart ; wha at lenth comyng fourth to ſpeak with the Conſtable of compoſition, wes retenit, and the men of warre cam fourth with bag and baggage.

P. 11. Few or nane of ſouldiours that cam fourth of Dynan bot they wer hurt other with ſkelves of ſtanes be the force of our battery, or wer brunt with the fyre brandis that they did row down the ſtey bra wher-upon the wall was biggen ; and thryſe they repoulſed our French ſutmen, wherof ther wer eleuen baner bearers that paſt vp to the head of the breſche ; to wit, firſt ane with the henſenge in his hand, not folowed with his company, was ſchot and fell tombling down the bra ; then another ſouldiour, to won the office, tok the enſaigne and paſt vp lykwaſ to the head of the wall, was alſo ſchot ; then the thrid, and all the eleven ilk ane efter other, wan ther deid and wer in nawayes aſſiſted with their companies, notwithstanding that the Conſtable my maſter ſtod beſyd crying and boiſting in vain ; and therefore he degradit the captanis and brak ther companies. Ther was a Scottis man brother to Barnbougall, callit Arche Moubrey, wha with his drawn ſwerd ran vp to the wall head and retournit ſaif ; bot he gat na reward albeit I was a ſuter for him, for many ar redier till puniſch faultes then to reward weill doers.

Efter this the K. entrit far in the Law Contrees, burnyng and ca-

rieing away gret butins ; bot fa fchone as themperour culd convene any forces togither, our armye began to reteir hamewart ; wher themperour fend fyve thowſand horſinen to ſe gif they mycht perſaue any occaſion of aduantage, quhilk they eſſeied to bring till paſs, aſſailgeing our arreregard at the paſſing ouer of a litle watter. At quhilk tym the Conſtable taried behind him ſelf, and turnyng his faice towarde them, and withſtod ther charge ſtoutly with the Frenche ſutmen and ſome leicht horſinen, vntill the haill armye wer paſt ouer the ſaid watter not far fra Cambray. Sa themperours horſinen folowed na farther at that tym, trowing that the K. wald retourn in France and ſkail his armye for that year.

Bot the K. drew langis the frontiers toward a gret ſtrenth callit Renty, wher he planted his camp and beſeigit the ſaid ſtrenth, quhilk I hard the conſtable promyſe to delyuer vnto the K. before the end of aucht dayes. Quhilk promyſe was not keped, for themperour cam in perſone with his armye for the releif therof ; quhilk armye the conſtable raid out to meit with the haill French horſinen, leaving the ſutmen to ly ſtill at the ſeige. For he had gret intelligence, and had hard wher themperour wald camp, marching langis a gret heicht that had a ſtey fairfaice towardis the part wher our camp lay ; bot it was eaſy to ryd vp and down at the ſyd wher our horſinen raid, wher themperour fend doun ſome harguletis on horſbak to ſkirmyſch. At quhilk tym Normond Leſly maifter of Rothes wan gret reputation. For with a thretty Scotis men he raid vp the bray vpon a faire grey gelding ; he had aboute his corſellet of blak veluet, his cot of armour with tua braid whyt croiſſes, the ane before and thother behind, with ſleues of mailge and a red knapiſk bonet vpon his head, wherby he was kend and ſean a far aff be

the Conftable, Duc of Angien and Prince of Conde. Wher with his thretty, he chargit vpon threfcore of ther horfmen with culuerins, not folowed with feuen of his nomber ; wha in our ficht ftraik v of them fra ther horfe with his fpeir, before it brak ; then he drew his fwerd and ran in amang them, not caring ther continuell fchutting, to the admiration of the beholders. He flew dyuers of them ; at lenth when he faw a company of fpeirmen commyng doun againft him, he gaif his horfe the fpurris, wha caried him to the Conftable and fell doun dead, P. 12. for he had many fchotis ; and worthy Normond was alfo fchot in dyuers partis, wherof he died xv dayes efter. He was firft caried to the Kingis awen tent, wher the Duc of Angyen and Prince of Conde tald his Maieftie that Hector of Troy was not mair vailgeant then the faid Normond ; whom the K. wald fe drefsit with his awen ferurgiens, and maid gret mean for him ; fa did the Conftable and all the reft of the princes. Bot na man maid mair dull nor the lard of Grange, wha cam to the camp the nyxt day efter, fra a quyet raid wher he had bene directed.

Now themperour fet doun his camp tua myles from Renty, and in ane inftant trenched the haill camp round about, faif only the foirface of the ftey bra that loked towardis our camp, quhilk was ftarker then the reft. All that nycht ther wer many vpon the watche of baith the armyes, for euery man loked for a battaill the day folowing. And therefore themperour, lyk ane auld capten, feafed in the nycht a wood that lay vpon a bra fynd betwen the tua camps, quhilk wes baith a gret aduantage, and then compellit the maift part of our armye till ftand in armes all nycht, to be the mair onable for wanting of fleep and reft again the morn ; and then the plaice of the battaill was a plain valley that lay



vnder the faid wood. The nyxt mornyng early, efter that euery man had maid ther prayers and tane a litle meat, we plaicit our armye in gud ordour of battaill vnder the faid bra and wood. The K. him felf that day commandit the bataille, bot he defyred the Conſtable to byd with him, for to tak conſaill as occaſion wald fall out. The Duc of Guiſe led the vangarde, and Marchall of St Andre the arriergard. Firſt ſa many of our Frenche futmen as ar callit enfantis perdus wer led langis the bra and wod ege, beginning to ſkermiſche with the Spaniartis that wer within the wod; wha had ſa gret aduantage being couerit with buſſis and trees, that they compellit our futmen to reteir fearfully; quhilk euell fauorit beginnyng themperour mycht weall ſee from the hill wheron he was encamped. Therefore lyk a ſkilfull capten he tok the occaſion to hazard ane gud part of his avantgard, with a 7. feild pieces, wha be his direction cam fercely forduart; the Spaniartis with ther hacbutis throw the wod, a thouſand Landſknychtis with bricht corſelletis langis the bray ſyd with lang pickis, the Conte of Swertzenbourg with all his reiters at the bra fut, and the hail leicht horſmen of themperours army vpon his rycht hand. At quhilk tym our futmen that wer apponted till ſkirmiſch with the Spaniartis reteirit ay mair and mair, as alſo our leicht horſmen in the valley drew a ſyd, and gaue ouer gret place to themperours van gard; quhilk when it cam wher Mons<sup>r</sup> de Tavanès and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge ſtode with ther companyes, and ſaw them mak for deffence, they marched mair caldly. The Duc of Guiſe in the mean tym ſaid that he wald ryd bak to the bataille, and obtean the Kingis command before he wald charge vpon the ennemy. Bot Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge wha was ane auld capten, allegit that ther was na tym to ſpeir conſaill; “for the ennemy,” ſaid he, “wilbe

affchone at the King as ye." Therefore it was resolved to charge curagiously vpon the enemy; quhilk being done and a litle rencontrer maid, the reisters schot aff all ther pistolles, and finding themselves not backit nor folowed with the rest of themperours army, (as they allegit was promysed vnto them) they gaue bakis and fled; being persewed

- P. 13. be our horfmen, wha slew about a v<sup>c</sup> Dutche futinen, and a few Spaniartis, for the wod was ther releaf; bot nane of the horfmen, they all eschaiped within the rampartis of themperours camp. Ther feild pieces wer tane and many Spaniartis maid prifoners. Therefore we callit it a won battaill, and marched fordwart, possessing the grond wher the feicht was, and set down our camp that same nycht hard besyd themperours; wha feared not that he had lost any thing, bot remanit stedfastly within his trenches. All that nycht the maist part of the armyes wer vpon the watche, and the nyxt day the tua armyes loked paiceably vpon other; for we wald not hazard to charge them within ther fort, and they stayed vpon tuelff thousand fresche men that wer commyng to ther ayd. Bot in the euenyng they schot aff their haill vollee of canons, quhilk flappit part of our tentis; and we again schot our haill vollee at them, and wald laugh to se the bouletis leicht and stot among them. Yet that same nycht quyetly at midnycht, without trompet or tabouring, we raised our haill armye and reterit us hame till our awen town of Montreull, and left Renty on won; alleging that we had won ane battaill, quhilk was better, and that we wanted horfmeat in the begynnyng of winter. Bot themperour suffred us patently to pass our way, not feamyng that he knew any thing of our reitret, bot was content that he had faised Renty on tane.

Eftir this themperour being agit, and finding himself vexit with the



gut and grauell, thocht meit to leaue the warld, and reteir himself in a monasterie of monkis in Spane. Bot first he maid moyen with the princes of thempyre for to elect his sone Phillip to be Emperour, quhilk they refused altogether, thinking him ouer mychty wherby to subdew ther liberties, as his father had minted to do of before. Bot they wer content to cheile his brother Ferdinand, wha was King of Bohem and Archeduc of Auftria, quhilk dominions lay nereft vnto the Turc. The said Ferdinand having also some landis in Hungarie, wald be compellit to defend his awin landis, and that way wald be content of les contribution from the estaitis of thempyre, nor any other prince that lay farther aff. Sa Charles the V. left thempyre, and gaue ouer to his sone Phillip his other kingdomes and dominions that he had in Spain, Ytaly, and the Law Contrees. And for the establisshing of his said sonnes estait, he drew on a traity of trewes for the space of v. yeares, quhilk was agreed and sworn between the parties. Bot the said trewes wer schone broken, at the persuation of Paip Caraphe; wha intending to bring back again vnto the kirk some kirklandis that his predecessours had disponit to ther frendis, as the commoun custum of paipes is; this paip dispones to his bastard bairnes or neueus,—the nyxt paip reuokis the landis as for the weil of the kirk, and geues to his kin and frendis.

P. 14. Bot they that had thir landis that Paip Caraphe clamed, wer a gret clan in Italy callit Collonois; wha wer dependers vpon the K. of Spain, and wer vnder his protection, and wald not grant to geue ouer any of ther possessions vnto the Paip, neyther for his cursing, boasting nor braging, standing to ther defence. Wherof the Paip impatient, pouffit be twa of his neueus, sent the ane of them into France callit the Cardi-

nall Caraph. The said legat had born before him a hat vpon the point of a sword, baith hat and sword to be presented vnto the K. of France ; the sword as ane assured warrant of victory, and the hat a taken of tryumphe ; Injuning the K. tres Chriftien, as eldest sone to the Catholick Kirk of Rome, to send ane armye in Italy, to help the Paipes holines to recouer again to the kirk sic landis as wer wrangeously withhelden fra the same be the said raice of the Collonois. And for to tak away all kind of scrupulosite from the Kingis conscience, be raifon of his aith and eaten sacrament at the closing vp of the trewes with the K. of Spaine, he the said Cardinall as Legat from Godis vicair had power and wald geue him full abfolution, alleging the Paipes power to bind and louse ; and mairouer that in doing sa dentifull ane gud office for the kirk, the K. suld se and get ane gret commodite and aduantage to himself, as to be posselt again in the kingdome of Naples be the forces of the Paip ; wha suld jun with the Kingis armye, efter he had helped the kirk to recouer hir foresaid landis fra them that wer menteanit be his compeditour the King of Spain. The Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorraine his brother embrasit this proposition very earnestly, for the Duc pretended to be maid vice roy of Napoles, wherby he myght the easelier mak his brother some day paip. Bot the auld Constable my maister was vtterly against the breking of the paice or trewes ; bot the twa ambitious brether prevailed, perswading the K. that as the Constables age requyred rest, the K. being in the flour of his yeares suld not let slip so faire ane occasion to recouer again the kingdome of Naples to the crown of France. Sa ane faire armye was preparit and sent into Italy vnder the condit of the Duc of Guise ; and lykwais the kingis lieutenant in Picardie entrit in vpon the K. of Spains dominions

with fyre and fwerd ; ſa vnloked for be them of the Law Contrees that ſome of the Frenche leicht horſmen entrit vpon horibak within ane of ther kirkis vpon ane Sunday, and reft the chalice out of the preſtis handis when he was mumlen his meſs.

The King of Spain tok this breaking of the paice heuely till hart ; and baith affliſted the Collonnois againſt the Paipes forces mair ernestly then he wald haue done, and alſo prepared a gret army againſt the nyxt ſpring to inuaid the frontiers of Picardie in France.

In the mean tym that the Duc of Guiſe with his Frenche armye was in Italy, the Paipe tok occaſion haiftely till compon with the Collonnois ; wha finding themſelues lyk to be ſtraited before the K. of Spaines forces mycht be redy to ſupport them, gaif the Paipe part of his defyres, he making them ſure of the reſt.

P. 15. Bott the Duc of Guiſe thoct him ſelf gretly diſgracit be the Paipes gyll, and far diſapointed fra his pretence to the kingdome of Neaples, when he vnderſtode that the Paipe was agreed by him ; and in ſted to concure and help him to conquyre the kingdome of Neaples according to his promyſe, he planly refuſed, and ſaid that the winter was at hand, and that it wald be mair ſeamly that all Chriſtien Princes ſuld agre among them ſelues to mak warre againſt the gret Turc. Sa he gaif the Duc of Guiſe leaue to kiſs his fut, wha did it ; wherat the King of France was very angry baith at him and at the Paip. Then for the ſpace of tua moneth, euery man in the court of France had leaue to ſpeak euell of the Paip ; wha agreed at that inſtant with the K. of Spain, be the mediation of the ſame Cardinall Caraphe that brocht the ſwerd and hat a litle of before to the K. of France Quhilk Cardinall was efterwart ſtrangled be the nyxt Paip Pius 4. for practiſing

to bring the gret Turke in Ytaly against the Christiens, quhilk he confessit at his dead to haue done for his awen gretnes. This I vnderstod efterwart, being at Rome.

Now to retourn to the Duc of Guise armye abandonit be the Paip ; they returnit in France with the los of the maist part dead for hunger be feaknes, and slain be the Spaniaris, wha waited on their heles all the way.

Before the Duc of Guise hame comyng in France, the K. of Spain was entrit vpon the frontiers of France with a gret armye of 1. thousand men ; whom to resist, the Constable my maister was send with a xvj thowland. The day before he tok his leaue at the K. in Reins in Champaigne, ryding to the huntis, ther cam a man in graue apparell folowing him vpon fut, crying for audience for Godis saik. Wherupon the Constable stayed, willing him to speak ; wha said, " The Lord sais seing that thou will not know me, I fall lykwayes not know the. Already I see the reak of thy glory spred athort the lust in dust." This strange langage pat the Constable in sic a collair that he straik the pure man in the faice with his horse wand, and boisted to cause him be hangit. The man answert that he was redy to suffer what punisshment he pleisit, seing he had parfoumed his commissioun. The Duc of Nevers persaving the Constable commoued, drew neir and desyred to know the cause. The Constable schew him how that sic a knaiff had bene prechen to him of God. Then the said Duc boisted also the pure man ; bot as they raid forduart efter the K. I taried behind and askit the man what had moued him to use sic strange langage vnto the Constable. He said, the sprit of God sufferit him not to rest vntill he had dischargit his mynd of sic a commissioun.

Now the armye of Spain aboue ſpecified was led be Emanuell Duc of Scavoy langis the frontiers of France, wha at laſt planted his camp about the toun of Sant Quentin. Wher the Conſtable ſend the admyrall of Chattillon his ſiſter ſone to deffend the ſame, and logit his camp at La Ferre, v. leigues fra the toun of S<sup>t</sup> Quentin, quhilk was not ſufficiently furniſſit with men and monition; therfore he eſſayed the nyxt day, in vain, to put in it ma companies, vnder the condit of Mons<sup>r</sup>. Dandelot, brother to the ſaid admyrall. Again efter the preparation of tua dayes, he marchit forduart with his haill armye toward S<sup>t</sup> Quentin, careing with him xviii. canons, with ſome bottis with briggis of burdes, that ar commounly in campis, to paſs the army in ane neid ouer reuers and watters. For ther was a litle loche vpon the ſouth weſt ſyd of the town, in the quhilk the ſaid bottis wer ſet, and Monſieur de Andelot firſt with thre hundreth enterit in the town that way; bot ſa ſchone as it was perſault, the ennemy ſtoppit the reſt to enter.

P. 16. Bot ſa ſchone as the Duc of Scavoy was comyng with his haill army towardis us, the Conſtable alleging that he had furniſſit S<sup>t</sup> Quentin ſufficiently, drew hamwartis towardis La Fer in gud ordour, intending to eſchew battaill gif he culd, the other being ane ouermatche. His intention was to paſs and beſeige Calice, bot the haill horſmen of the ennemyes was hard at us be we had trauelit four myles, wher the Conſtable ſtayed a whyll. At lenth he ſaid that ther horſmen cam to ſtay us vntill ther futmen wer com forduart; therfore he thoct beſt to paſs forduart to a narrow part between a wood and a villaige, ther to abyd them bataille gif na better mycht be. In the mean tym the Marchell of S<sup>t</sup> Andre, a gret doer for the tym, gaif ane vnhappy counſail, that all the Frenche ſeruandis that wer vpon horſbak ſuld retier from amang

the men of armes, lest they fuld be some impediment to them that facht. Thir varletis, being large asmany as ther wer maisters, wer glaid to get them out of the prels, spurring with speid ther horse headis hamewartis, intending to stay vpon some know to behald the combat. The ennemy persaving a far aff a gret number of horfemen as fleing, tok occasion to charge vpon our leicht horfmen; wheron the Constable, being in a valley between twa heichtis, marching towardis the strait part wher he intendit to stay, spurrit fordwart vp the litle bra, that he mycht se how to resist and put ordour to the battaill, quhilk gaif ane hard apprehension till others that it was a fleing; bot when he turnit on the know head to behald the onfet, na man wald tary with him, for na command, nor crying, “tary tary, return return;”—ther headis wer hamewartis, and ther hartis wer hyn. Then his maister staibler brocht him ane Turkey spedy horse, to run away with the rest. He answert in anger that it was against his profession and occupation to flee;—addressing him self fiercely against the gretest troupe of ennemys, saying, “let all gud seruantis to the King folow me;” only he was acompanyed with a threSCORE of gentlemen, wha wer all ouerthrauen in ane instant. The Constable desyrit to be slain, bot his maister staibler callit Mons<sup>r</sup> de Salvart cryed continually, “It is the Constable, slei him not;” bot he was schot throw the thye before he was knauen, and was tane prisoner. I being euell hurt with a straik of a mals vpon the head, was monted again be my seruand vpon a Scotis gelding, that caried me hame throw the ennemys, wha wer all betwen me and hame; and twa of them straik at my head with fuerdis, because my head piece was tane aff efter the first renconter that the mals had enforced, and the twa wer standing betwen us and hame, to kep presoners in a narrow streit. Bot my skeich horse ran

throw them in a narrow gait, againſt my will, throw the villaige ; for the feild betwen it and the wood was full of reak of culveringis, and ther wer the maiſt part of our futmen ſlain. The lowping ouer a dyk ſeparat me fra the twa ; then being paſt the ſaid villaige, ther was boundis anough till eſchew ; ſa I cam ſaif to La Ferre, wher I met with maiſter Hary Killygrew, an Engliſ gentilman my auld frend, wha held my horſe till I ſat down in ane barbours buith, to be penſit of the hurt in my head. In the mean tym ane proclamation was maid, that na man ſuld remain within the town bot the ordinary garriffoun, becauſe the gouvernour therof loked for a ſiege.

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*Thir ten leaues folowing, being first wreten, apperteins not to this history :—meter to be placit at the end of the buk, because heirby may be seane how other yong princes haue bene als euell handled as ours.*

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P. 17. **G**UD obedience is the office of subiectis; for they shuld esteeme the estat of a maiestrat as a commission com down from God, and therefore shuld bear them reuerence as to the lyknes of the euerlasting, representing onto ther eyn the deyn empyre. Euery faull, sais S<sup>t</sup> Paull, shuld submit them vnto the supperiour powers; for wha resistis vnto ther authorite, resistis against the ordinance of God. Bot how this is obseruit may be ouer oft seane, chefly during the regne of yong princes.

Polibius wretis of thre yong princes that wer onworthely mishandled, be them that wer left to be ther cheif gouernours and confellers; as Philip King of Macedone, Antiochus King of Siria, and Ptholomeus K. of Egipt; quhilk hard handling of the said yong princes I haue translated and tane out of the historie of Polibius, because the lyk hes chancit laity in thir partis.

Vnto the yong K. Phillipe of Macedone wes left Appelles for cheif gouernour, Megaleas to be chanceler, Leontius scheild bearer, and Alexander to be capten of the garde, and Taurion to be lieutenant in Peloponese. Appelles, in sted to do the office of ane honest man, vsed all the pernicious practyses that he culd inuent, till hender the yong princes prosperous proceedingis, and till hald him in continuell comber, intending till aduance him self. For at all sic tymes when ther wes any faire occasion, or ony gud confell geuen vnto the King, wherby he

mycht augment his dominions, and wone honour frendfchip or reputation, the ſaid Appelles not only gaue contrary confell, bot had maid the maiſt part of the confeill till his effect. Only Aratus, a worthy capten ouer the Achayens, withſtod him ; wha loued the King enterely, and gaue wyſe confell, and ſometymes diſcouerit the falſe practyſes of the confederat confellours, albeit to his awen gret hendrance and parell ; for he wes deadly hated and enuyed therfore. Appelles had alrede wone vpon his faction Leontius and Megaleas, and had layed platis how till get Taurion and Alexander out of ther offices ; inventing lyes and falſe reportis againſt them, bot maiſt of all againſt Aratus ; quhilk was at lenth perſauit and cam to the Kingis knowlege, cauſing him to lyk the better of Aratus, and conceaue a ſecret hattrent againſt the other ; quhilk the K. durſt not yet kyeth, in reſpect of Appelles gret authorite, bot awaited vpon tym mair opportun.

P. 18. Now Appelles, finding he cam litle ſped be callomnies and lyes, he tok another courſe, and began to ſpeak mekle gud of Taurion, lieutenant for the King in Peloponeſe ; ſetting out the ſaid Taurion to be ſa gud a capten, and ſa diſcret and wyſe a confellour, that he was meter then any other to be neir about the Kingis perſone ; thinking that way to diſplace him, and put another at his deuotion in that gret gouernement. Efter this, occaſion is offered that the King ſuld inuaid his enemys the Etoliens. Appelles folowing fourth his proget, with aſſiſtance of his confederatis, ſpecially Leontius, Megaleas and he, ſweres and promyſes till hald hand till other, in ſtaying be all inderect meanes at ther power, that the Kingis enterpryſe ſhall tak na gud ſucces. Appelles for his part promyſed till paſs before till Chalcedone, wher prouiſion was to be maid for the Kingis armye ; and ſuld handle that turn in ſic

fort as that ther shuld be want, quhilk he failed not to do ; for when the King cam in thir partis, he was compellit to lay in wed his jowelis, and siluer weischell, to get furnishing for his awen ; wher also the army wes vtterly miltaikeid. Megaleas and Leontius wer ordonit to abyde still about the King, till excuse matters, and till interpret all to the best, and continowally to geue hurtfull counseiles. Leontius left nathing ondone for his part ; for the King having another enterpryse till tak the toun of Celene, his souldiours being redy till surpryse the same, and some of them alrede within the toun, wer drawn bak again craftely be Leontius, wha hendrit the wonnyng therof ; and lykwais another fair enterpryse, and the haill sommer seasoun, be the wyles and fraud of Leontius ; quhilk the King began to persaue, and all the knauery of thir fyn confellours. After this he maid a sodaine enterpryse vpon the toun of Pharma, Leontius casting in many doutis and occasions of drift, till the ennemys mycht be foirwarnit. Bot the K. knawing ther meanyng, past fordwart sodanly, folowing the counsell of Aratus, and wan that riche toun ; being ay vpon his gardis fra that tym fourth, awaiting vpon ane meit tym till put ordour to sic traitours.

Efter the wyunnyng of this toun, and dyuers vthers wherin the King had gud succes, King Philip maid a gret banket till all his nobles and captens ; wher the traitours schew them selues sorowfull, because theyr deling was discouert, and wer deuyten how that efter the banket they mycht slay Aratus. And as they wer about to put ther enterpryse till execution, in ane quyet nycht efter supper when it was dark, some vthers chancit till com by in the mean tym, and saued Aratus. Wherupon Megaleas wes tane, bot Leontius fled ; Crinon wes also tane, ane of ther associatis. Bot Leontius the nyxt day brocht with him all the

fcheild bearers, whom he commandit as capten, and boistfully asked  
 wha durst retein or lay handis vpon Megaleas and his marrowes.  
 P. 19. **Q**uhilk rebellion the King curagiously represt, presenting him self vnto  
 them, and schewing vnto them that it was done be his commandement.  
 Sa Megaleas wes accused be Aratus and convict; yet wes efterwart  
 fet to libertie for a sowm of siluer, bot culd not leaw aff fra his formair  
 practyses. For again when the King wes at the seage of a rich toun,  
 some potentatis and nybours delt for paice; quhilk being lyk to tak effect,  
 Megaleas, Leontius and another callit Ptolomeus, caused the fcheild  
 bearers and dyuers bandis of the men of wair to rebell, and come in  
 armes to the Kingis logging; brak vp the dures, and raif the selaitis af  
 the ruf of the houte; compelling the K. till eschaip and saif him self in  
 the nyxt toun, till the blud fell fra the rebelis hartis. Then the K.  
 fend for the principalis of them; some he punist, some he boisted, and  
 admonissit others, knowing weall enough wha wer the sterers vp ther-  
 of, bot held him quyet vntill he wes in surete within the toun of Cor-  
 rinth. At quhilk time Megaleas, Leontius, Ptolomeus and ther adhe-  
 rentis persaued that ther malice wes manifestit, and them selues in parell,  
 they sent for ther chiftain Appelles till com till court and help them.  
 Appelles in the mean tym remanit at hame, rewling the kingdome of  
 Macedone and Theffalia, causing all differencis, presentis, and embassa-  
 dours com before him; taking vpon him entierly the Kingis office, and  
 maid bot a chiffer of the yong King. Sa schone as Appelles cam neir  
 the court, all the courteours raid out and met him, and convoyed him  
 vnto the Kingis chamber dur. Bot when he preit till enter famylier-  
 ly as he wes wont, a paige cam fourth and bad him stand bak, saying  
 that the King wes empefchit. Wherat he was not a litle miscontent,

cheifly when he faw euery man leaue him and steall fra him, as the faffion is in court commonly, when they fe the prince lok down vpon any man. Megaleas perfauyng Appelles difgrait, and not able till bear out his courfe, fled to the town of Athens, wher he gat na entre, fearing till offend the King; wha caufed incontinent apprehend Leontius capten of the fchild bearers, efter that his fouldiours wer fent away another errand. Bot when they hard that ther capten wes in handis, they fend boifting langage vnto the K., quhilk moued the K. the haiftelier till caufe execut Leontius. Then dyuers tok baldnes till advertis the K. of findry treafons committed againft him, and fent vnto him fome wretingis that Megaleas had wreten vnto the Kingis ennemys againft the King. Bot the K. fent to Thebes and tok him, wha flew him felf be the way. Lykwais Appelles, hering that the K. had fent to tak him at Corrinth, whervnto he wes fled, he flew him felf; and fa did his concubine and his fone. Some others ther dependers the K. tok and punifhed, and fa endit tragically that company of traitours.

P. 20. This K. Philyp efter that he was red of thir concurring knaues, becam a notable prince, be dear bocht experience, and did many worthy deidis. Sa, as Sal fais, put away the wickit and peruers perfones from the faice of the King, and his thron fall be eftablifit in iuftice.

To fchaw the tragicall end alfo of ane ambitious crafty King tak Cleomenes King of Spart for exemple. For Cleomenes, defyrous bring till pafs many hyche pretencis and far fetchis, intendit firft till enter-teny ciuill warres amang the Grecians, that he fifching in dromely watters, mycht with tim mak him felf maifter of the haill. He junit

first in factioun with the Etoliens against Peleponese, hopping that way haifty victory ouer them baith ; they being subdewed, till assailege Macedone ; it being wone, all Grecia wald fall vnder him. Bot Antigonus King of Macedone, father till this Philipe aboue specified, per-fawing the mark he schot at, junit him self again with them of Peloponese, and at length ouerthrew him in fundry battailles ; and that the mair easely, because Cleomenes wes haited of his awen subiectis, for falshead, gredines, and ambition, quhilkis ar commonly junit together. Amang vther his faltis, he flew traiterously Archidamus, formair K. of Spart, wha had fled fra the fury of ane vproire, and wes appointed to retourn hame againe to his formair estat. Cleomenes femyng to ryd out and meit him, till geue him the mair honorable convoy, flew him be the way ; bot spaired some that wer in his company, specially Nycagoras, wha had bene his gretest frend in his aduersite, and had entertained him in his house all the whyll. Cleomenes being thus vineuft, and fled for refuge till Ptholomeus Philopater K. of Egipt ; during his being ther, arriuit Nycogoras with a schip full of fair horse, till Alexandria in Egipt ; chancing to meit Cleomenes on the schoir, wes glaidly saluted be him, supposing that Nycagoras loued him, for saiffing of his lyf when he flew Archidamus ; bot Nycagoras rather haitted him deadly for his treasonable slauchter of his gud frend Archidamus, and wes him self apperantly preseruit to be ane instrument of vengeance for the innocent blud of Archidamus. Now Cleomenes inquiryres at Nycagoras wher he wes boun with the faire horse. He said, to sell them to the King Ptholomeus. Cleomenes thinking he nicht speak frely to him whais lyf he had saued, said that hures, harpes, and vain pastymes wes meter for sa doild and slugisch a King. The other gaif



him na anſuer, bot ſynled, vntill he mycht mak the King fairſean of Cleomenes bacbyting of him, quhilk he did. Wherupon Cleomenes wes maid captywe, yet eſchaiped efterwart. And vnderſtanding that the K. of Egipt wes miſlyked of his ſubjectis, he did what he culd to ſteir them vp till rebellion againſt him, and had wone ſome, that promyſed be wordis; but when Cleomenes with a few of them invadit the

P. 21. K. vpon the ſtreit, and thoct to haue pullit him down from his chariot, crying “liberte, liberte;” bot ſeing few or nane ſa pert till aſſiſt him, and that his folly and fury tok na better effect, he flew him ſelf. And ſa endit his vain pretencis, and the ſlauchter of Archidamus ſufficiently auengit.

This Ptholomeus K. of Egipt, efter the death of his father, and ſlauchter of his brother Magan, thoct that he mycht lyue at hame in lecherie, drinking and ydlenes; and the rather becauſe that his nybour Antyochoſus K. of Siria wes yet yong, and not able till enterpryſe againſt him. Therefore he diſpyſed his nobilite confellours and captens, ſkairſely ſuffring any of them till com in his preſens, or till enter in his chamber, making nane bot mean men preuy till his turnes. Alſo anent the gouernours of concuſt contrees that lay far aff, he tok na head of them, bot gaue ear vnto the miſreportis maid againſt dyuers of the ſaidis gouernours be ther enuyers. Bot Theodotus gouernour of Celoceria, a gret prouince, and wha had done gret ſeruice, wes maiſt enuyed; his honour being hurt, his ſeruice euell interpret be ſic as poſſeſt the prince ear, his lyf wes in gret danger; ſa that the Kingis facilitie and haifty geuyng of credence till fals reportis moued this worthy man till reuolt, and put the haille prouince of Celoceria in the handis of K. Antiochoſus yet yong. Quhilk wes occaſion of gret wairres

afterwart ; for K. Ptholomeus at lenth wes compellit, and fa spurrit fordwart be many treafons, tincelis and rebellions againft him, that he wes fayn till enter in action efter hurtfull experience, for recouery of his loft contrees and townis, and to fute the fauour of his nobilitie and captens, quhilk he fa difdanit and difpyed of before.

It is na meruell that this Egiptien K., wha wes ane of Alexanders fuccellours, forget him felf fa ; hauyng all thir fair contrees conkuft vnto him be the faid Alexander, without his labour or induftre ; feing that the faid K. Alexander him felf becam fa facill and infolent, efter that he had conkeft a gret part of the world. For returnyng hamewart from Midia, he cam till Pafergades, a contre of the Perfians, wherof Orfynes wes lord, wha in nobilite and riches exceidit all vther men in thir boundis, as ane that brocht his pedegre from Cyrus. The riches his predeceffours left him wer gret, and he by a lang continuance in his inheritance had gretly increffit the fame. He met Alexander commyng to his contree, and prefented baith him and his frendis with gret giftis of gold, filuer, perles and pretious ftones and pretious ftuff, wefchellis of gold, robbis of purper, four thowfant tallentis of coignit filuer, a multitud of faire horfe and chariotis wrocht with gold and filuer ; bot gaif nathing till Bagras eunuch, whom Alexander fpecially fauored. And being inquiryed of the caufe, he faid his custome was till honour the Kingis frendis, and not fic vicious men be whais company the K. was difhonnorit ; quhilk wordis being reported again vnto

P. 22. Bagras, he conceaved a gret hattrent againft the noble man, and layed platis how he mycht get him accufed ; fubburnyng fome knaues of Orfines awen contre to bear fals witnes againft him, and till await vpon fic meit tymes as he fuld appoint them ; for he wes a panderous and a

flatterer ; and ſa with continuance of fals tailes againſt the gud man, euer diſcembering the cauſe of his hattrent, left the prince ſuld perſaue him and he therby tyn his credit ; therfor he wrocht ſa ſecretly, and at ſic opportun tymes, that he firſt caldit the Kingis hart and affection, and brak his familiarite and acces, that the K. mycht be the eaſelier wone and kendlit in an hattrent and anger againſt this honeſt and innocent man ; that at lenth the K. commandit to ſley him, wha bure a ſingular loue and efection to Alexander, and eſtemed him large as worthy, notable and wailgeant as he was.

After the diſceſe of Allexander, his empyre and haill conkyſſes was deuydit amang his captens ; and after lang ſtryf amang them, ther remanit four principalis kingdommes ; to wit, Caſſander K. of Macedone, Antigonus K. of Atia myneur, Ptholemeus K. of Egipt, and Seleuchus King of Siria. After whais diſces, it fell to his eldeſt ſone, callit alſo Seleuchus, wha ſchortly after died be diſceat and foull practyſes ; ſa the kingdome of Siria fell to Antiochus his brother, yet very yong, and therfore ſuffred his gret men to choiſe ther awen gouernementis at ther pleaſour. Acheus wes maid gouernour ouer all the contrees beyond Mont Taurus, Molon of Media, and his brother Allexander of Perſida ; and Hermeas a malicious man wes maid gouernour of the In contrees. All the other aboue named being litle better, this yong Kingis eſtait culd not be in ane guid caice, as ſhall appeir efterwart. Only Epi- genes cheif capten ouer the haill armye was honeſt and faithfull to his prence, and in gret eſtem, becauſe he was a man of word and deid, of lang experience, and belouit of his ſoldiours. Hermeas again of a contrary natour, crafty ſle and enuyous, ſocht be all poſſible callomnies till

put this worthy capten and confellour out of the way, that he mycht the better bring his difceatfull practyſes till pas, on refiſted or perſaued. All the other gouernours of gret contrees had intelligence with him, euery ane intending till vſurp and appropriat to them ſelues ther hail prouinces wherof they had commandement; hopping eaſily till brangle ther new gret conkiſſes during the non aige of this yong K., whais kingdome was not yet weill eſtabliſſit. Firſt it was concludit amang them, that Molon and his brother ſuld rebell, becauſe they lay fartheſt aff; quhilk being perfourned, the King conuenit his counſaill, that he mycht tak the redieſt way till reduce again the ſaids contrees onder his obedience, till ſuppreſs the rebellion in dew tym. Epigenes being firſt commandit in counſaill to ſpeak, gaif his aduylſe that the K. ſuld ſpedely pas to the partis wher the rebellion was, and ſatill the ſame before it tok rut in the hartis of the people; wha for ther part had na occaſion of hattrent or miſcontentement againſt the K., bot wald rather in reſpect of his preſens apprehend the traitours, and put them in the Kingis handis to be puniſſed. Hermeas impatient at this gud aduylſe, burſted out in a raige againſt Epigenes, alleging that he aſpyred to get the

p. 23. kingdome to him ſelf; and now being tranſported be ambition, diſcouerit him ſelf be this his wicked aduylſe, in counſelling the K. yet ſa yong and tender, nother weill experienced nor prepared till hazard his perſone in ſa far partis, that he mycht bring his treſon the better til pas; and therefore oponit him ſelf planely therto, willing the K. to remain at hame in the In contrees, and to ſend ſome captens and ane part of the armye till ſuppreſs the rebellion; and that the K. him ſelf ſuld ga and reſaue the contre of Celoceria not far af, quhilk was alſo offred vnto him be Theodotus gouernour therof vnder the K. of Egipt, wha was mal-

content with his maister for the tym. For Hermeas thocht that it wald raise vp wairres between the King of Egipt and him ; that his maister having wairres on all sydis, he mycht not only the better appropriat his gret gouvernement to him and his, bot also eschew punisshment for the manyfald offences quhilk he knew him self that he had committed. Then to be quyt of Epigenes, whom he enuyed and fearit, he counterfitted a wretting, as gif Epigenes had wreten the same to Acheus, wha was then also in suspition with the K., willing the said Acheus till advertis and admonish Ptholemeus to be vpon his gardis, and till bring samony schippis to ane appointed place, wher Epigenes and Acheus suld be in a redines till help him at ther power. The yong K., for laik of experience, gaif easy credit to this hurtfull confell, and send captens with some men of wair against Molon, wha wer be him defait ; nether cam the K. any speid with his armye that he convoyed vnto Celosiria, for the hender that Hermeas maid vnto him be his fals practyses. The K. seing the euell succes of baith his enterpryses, wes not content, and convenit his confell again till aduyse of the nyxt best, and how till proceed against Molon ; wha efter he had vincust the Kingis capten Zenotes with his armye, wan Babillon and all the contrees therabout. At this convention, Ipigenes lamented that his first confell wes not folowed, and said get that albeit the rebelis had gottin sa gret aduantage be wynnynge of dyuers battailes towns and contrees, that it was meit the King suld pass in persone against Molon with gret diligence ; quhilk the haill confell agreed vnto. Nether durst Hermeas speak in the contraire, bot feamed that tym and occasion had caused him chenge his oppinion ; and not only gaif aduyse till ga fordwart, bot wes maist earnest and diligent till set fordwart all necessary preparatifs ; and in

the mean tym denyfed how he mycht diftroy Epigenes, be craft and indirect meanis. And for this effect, fa fchone as the army wes in a redines, he caufed fecretly fleir vp a mutenery amang the men of wair, for want of ther byrun waiges, laying the wyet vpon the generall capten Epigenes ; quhilk mutenery pat the K. in gret fear. Whervpon Hermeas tok occafion till fpeak his pleaſour of the other, and tald the K. that ther wald be many of the lyk vproirs, except Epigenes wer left at hame ; in reſpect alfo of the difference betwen him and Epigenes, promyſing to quenche all ftryf, and cauſe gud reull be obferuit in ſa doing. The K., albeit he had Epigenes in gret eſtym, and knaw his worthynes, and wes laith to want his aſſiſtance, yet for fear and of facilitate, being importunat and perſuadit be ſome mignons of his chamber, geldit and left him behind.

- P. 21. Hermeas hauyng obtenit his intent, caufed pay the men of wair largely, to won ther fauour ; bot ſex thowſand of the beſt ſouldiours left the K., wanting ther gud capten, and wald not ſerue vnder the charge of Hermeas ; wha in the mean tym, or euer the army paſt fordward, invented a trik, to wit a conterfait wreting, as gif Epigenes had reſauit it fra Molon ; and buddit a peage that ſeruit Epigenes, to ley the falſe letter in his cabinet amang his other wretingis ; then caufed ſend a capten callit Alexis with a company, to ſeak out the wretingis of Epigenes, and incaice he fand ſic a wreting ſent fra Molon, to ſley him ; quhilk wes done, and contented the K. for the firſt, as gif he had bene juſtly ſlain. This falſehead wes perſauit be many, bot nane durſt yet diſcouer it vnto the K., wha then was deſtitud of gud and trew counſaill ; yet ane callit Zeuxides aduylit the prince till pas fordward with diligence, quhilk he did at gret journeyes, be difficill and ſtrait paſſages.

When the armye cam neir wher Molon wes, his haille armye entrit in gret fear, relpecking ther kyndly prence, and wer all willing to run away. Bot Molon stayed them with perswasions and faire promyses, mynding till invaid the K. be nycht; fearing to ga oppenly against his K., the foldiours wald abandone him; quhilk dyuers of them did, and aduertist the K. of the tratours intention; wha seing the enterpryse discouert, past oppenly to bataille. The richt wing of his armye facht manfully, bot the left wing turnit and tok part with the King, wha wan the victory; bot Molon fearing just punisshement, flew him self, and sa did all the principall men that had assited him. Neolauch ane of his brether wha fled, past vnto Alexander his other brother, and perswadit him to fley him self also; then he went and pat to death Molons mother and children, syn flew him self.

Efter the ouerthraw of Molon and his complices, the K. tok in again his contrees, vsing gret clemency towardis the seducit subiectis; against the mynd of Hermeas, wha layed greter somes of money vpon sic as fuld relaeue that kynd of chastisement then the K. had apponted, and vsed also gret crewelte against vthers; quhilk all the K. mittigat sa schone as it cam to his knowlege; for Hermeas meanyng was till mak the K. hatted. About this tym ther cam newes to the K. fra hame, that ther wes a sone born vnto him, for before he had nane. This moued Hermeas intantly till conspyre the Kingis death, thinking thereafter to remain tutour to the barne, and gouernour to all the contrees during his youth.

The K. had a medeciner callit Apolephanes, that loued him entierly, wha amang many others had persaued Hermeas proceedingis, and suspected his mark that he schot at, yet wes in gret fear atweill for him



self as for the K. ; for Hermeas hated all them that loued the K., or  
 wald geue him any gud aduyce. This Apolephanes waited vpon a con-  
 venient tym, and tald vnto the K. the natour, false practyses and hich  
 pretences of Hermeas ; admoniffing him to kepe fecret and be vpon his  
 gardis, lest it mycht chance vnto him as it had done vnto his brother  
 P. 25. of before, wha wes flain traterously. The K., wha wes alrede in a gret  
 geloufyce of Hermeas, and had kepit in his hart a gret mislyking of  
 Hermeas procedingis, tok the aduertiffement of his medeciner in a very  
 gud part, and desyred his help to get Hermeas puniflit ; becaufe his  
 autorite wes fa gret, that nane durst displeite him, nor nane durst put  
 hand till him be way of justice, as having placit his frendis in all the  
 offices and gouvernementis, commanding baith the court and camp.  
 Therfore the medeciner deuysed that the K. fuld ryfe the nyxt day,  
 earlyer in the mornying then he was wont to do, as till tak the ayre for  
 his health ; whilk was schawen vnto Hermeas bot very lait ; wha fail-  
 ed not to find him ther, to kepe alwais the Kingis ear fra all others.  
 Bot ther wer appointed also some yong men to be ther, whom the K.  
 had informed of his mynd ; fa being a gud way fra the camp, the K.  
 drew till a quyet part, as thoch he had bene bown to do his aife ; in  
 the mean tym the yong men that wer apponted sticked Hermeas, wha  
 wes fa hated for his behauour, that na mean wes maid for him ; bot  
 contrary wyfe, when the brut of his slauchter wes spred abroide, the  
 wyues of the toun of Apamea, wher his wyf remanit, tok hir fourth and  
 stanith hir to death ; lykwais the yong boyes of the same toun stanit  
 his cheldren.

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P. 27. **L**AITLY in England, K. Edward the 6. being left yong be K. Hary the 8. his father, wes a prence of gret esperance. The Duc of Somerset, his mother brother, fell to be his tutour and protectour; a man of gret vertew and godlynes, wha caused seak out all meit personages of gud qualitees, till place about the said yong K. baith in his chamber, at his table, and for his instruction in lettres, and behauour in maners; and trauelit till plant gud and trew men afweill to be confellours, as in all other offices and gouvernementis. Bot being persait be the Duc of Northumberland, wha of a gentilman was sa hyely aduancit, and ane that aspyrit ouer far, all the gud Protectours procedingis wer henderit. For Northumberland being afull and audacious, was mair redouted, as having cuffit and beaten the Archebischop of Canterbury in presens of K. Hary the 8., quhilk blow wes neuer punissit, bot rather excused be the K., when as the said Archebischop maid his complante; the King Hary alleging him to have done it as a man of wair, new com hame fra the warres of Bolloigne. Quhilk caused many till fear the said Duc, wha tok greter baldnes vpon him efter the death of K. Hary, ouer soiftly suffred be the gentill nature of Somerset; quhilk gaif him the mair baldnes till enterpryse thothers wrak, of deliberation, he being out of the way, till get the haill gyding of the yong K. and contre. Wherby till bring his purpos till pass at his plesour, first he failed not be practis till place fundre of his frendis in court and confaill, and in offices; this

being done, to dyuyfe the destruction of the Protectour, sterit vp dif-  
cention betwen him and his only brother the Admyrall, be the meanis  
of ther wyves, sa schone as he persauit emulation enter betwen the twa  
wyues, for honour and preeminence. The Admyrall had married the lait  
Quene, a widow and laft wyf to K. Hary the viij ; wha in his tym had  
fex wyues, of the quhilkis tua wer repudiat, tua wer behedit, and the  
mother of K. Edward dyed, when the barne was cuttid out of hir  
womb, and this the Admyralis wyf lyued efter him ; alleging becaufe  
sche was quene, that sche fuld pas before, and haue the honour abone  
the Protectours wyff ; wha on the other part allegit hir self to be the  
wyff to the eldest brother, Duc of Somerset, Protectour and Gouvernour  
for the tym ouer the K. and contre. This vain stryf was sa helpit and  
entertenied, be the moyen of Northumberland, that it engendred first  
gret hattrent betwen the twa ladyes, and efterwart betwen the twa bre-  
ther ther husbandis, sterit vp be them. Wherupon occasion was tane  
till won false witneffis till accuse the Admyrall of conspyracy against  
the Kingis persone, the maist part of the juges or syfers being chofen  
be the Duc of Northumberland, with easy consent of the Protectour,  
p. 28. wha simply respected nathing bot the Kingis weill and surete, and par-  
saut not the enuyous pretencis of his hid compeditour. Be thir juges  
the Admyrall was condemnit to dye. He being out of the way, not lang  
efter a false allarme wes geuen to the court, or ane bruit of ane enter-  
pryse invented be the Duc of Northumberland, quhilk causit the Pro-  
tectour hastily till put on his armour, for deffence of the K. and him  
self ; for the quhilk he was delated and accused be sic as wer at the  
deuotion of Northumberland, and condemnit to dy as a traitour to  
the K. for putteing on his armour in the Kingis palice. The gud

lord said he was content to dye, gif that mycht stand other the K. or contre in sted for any profitable exemple. Now he being out of the way, the Duc of Northumberland tryumphed, and reuled all at his pleſour, and displacit all them that wer frendis or fauorers till any of the twa brether, oncles to the K., and conſequently all that loued the K. ; and planted in ther rowmes his frendis and dependers. Then ſeing nane till gainſay him, nor that mycht reſiſt or withſtand his enterpryſe, he married his yongeſt ſone, callit my L. Gilford, vpon my Lady Jene Gray, dochter gottin be the Duc of Suthfolk vpon K. Hary the viij his yongeſt ſiſter, intending to ſet the crown of England vpon hir heid ; the yong K. being diſpatched out of the way, quhilk he thoct not difficill to do, hauyng all the medeciners, and officers of the Kingis mouth at his deuotion ; intending to defraud Mary our Quene, lawfull heritour of England, diſcendit of the ſaid Harys eldeſt ſiſter. As for the ſaid K. Harys tua dochters, Quen Mary and Quene Eliſabeth, he ſupponit them baith to be baſtardis ; and allege our Quen to be borne out of the contre, and that way allegit to be onlawfull, albeit the contrary hes bene oft practyſed ; to wit ſindre born in France and other partis, haue bene brocht hame and bruked the krown of England. The mariage being at a point betwen my Lord Gilford and my Lady Jene Gray, the Duc of Northumberland reuler and gyder of the K. and contre, and daly about the K. ; wha upon a tym, ſhutting at the buttis, the ſaid Duc flatteringly prayſed the Kingis ſchot to be weill neir the mark, albeit it wes far aſyd. Quhilk flattery the K. culd not abyde ; anſwering backwardly ſaying, “ My L. gif ye had ſchot als far fra my twa oncles headis, they had bene yet ſtanden vpon ther ſchulders.” Quhilk word haifted the Kingis dead ; for ſchortly efter, a lent poiſoun

wes geuen vnto him, quhilk tok away his lyf at lenth be degrees. Incontinent efter his death, Northumberland caufes proclame his sonnes wyff Quene, and hir husband my L. Gilford his sone K., and him self Gouvernour ouer all the kingdome vnder them. In quhilk estait they lasted not lang; for as he wes putting ordour ouer all, the Erle of Penbruche, a braue man, callit to a banket dyuers of the nobilite and counsaill; and efter the banket, presented onto them a signatour to subscrywe, till tak out Quen Mary wha was kept, and proclame hir Quene; boisting else to slei them ilk ane, bringing in ther presens a company of men in armour with drawen swardis, whom he had in a redines in caice of refusall. The nobilite and counsaillours ther present granted his proposition, and subscryuit the signatour, and promysed all till assist others. Sa Quene Mary wes tane out and proclamit; quhilk commyng to the knowlege of the Duc of Northumberland, he past to the part wher they wer proclaimyng the Quene Mary, and he cryed out, "God saue the Quen Mary," with the rest, and did cast vp his bonet, for apperant blyethnes, as did [the] rest; alleging that all the counsaill had found gud his proceedingis, and fand it meit to set vp my Lady Jene Gray, in respect that K. Hary had declaired his twa dochters bastardis; bot he forget that the counsaill durst not disobey him. Sa he wes incontinent apprehendit, euen be his auen gard, and convoyed to London. Sa wes the new K. and Quen wardit, and headit. Bot the Duc wes put in hope to get his lyf saif, incaice he wald become ane catholik; for during the tym of K. Edwart, the religion wes reformed in England, and the Roman Kirk reiected. Now this Duc wes sa hatted of all, bot cheifly be his ennemys for his turranny, oppression, vsurpation, and the innocent blud scheding of the Kingis twa oncles, and him self, that for

vengeance they not only cryed out vpon his traterie, and kufte ftanes  
and dirt, and ſchot at him at his entre in Londoun; bot alfo knawen  
him to be without religion, deſyred him to heir ane meſſe ſaid vpon the  
ſkaffald, in hope to get that way pardone of the Quene; quhilk when  
he had done, and hard the ſaid meſſe, halding vp his handis with ap-  
perance of gret deuotion to the ſacrement of the alter, and efterwart  
culd find na grace, he gaif a gret cry, ſaying, “ O God what have I  
done,” and ſa laid done his head, diſparatly ending his lyff.

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12. 39. **K**YNG HARY the 8. of England, father to this K. Edward the 6. abone  
specified, being miscontent with Pape [Clement 7.] for refusing to grant  
the deuorcement with his wyf Quen Katherene, of the house of Spaine :  
for reuenge against the said Paip, he loked throw his fingers to the  
prechours of the reformed religion, then begun secretly in England be  
some that had studied in Dutcheland vnder Martin Luther. Albeit, the  
Paip wald fayn haue pleast him, wer not that he fearit to displeas  
themperour Charles the 5. culing to the said Quen. With tym the  
hattrent increffit sa betwen the K. and the Paip, that the King pro-  
claimed him self head of the Kirk of England, and dischargit S<sup>t</sup> Peters  
penys to be payed fra that tym fourth, with a strait commandement till  
all his subiectis, not till acknowlege the Paip in any sort : and obtenit  
the said deuorcement of his wyf be ane Englis Archebishop, and ma-  
ried another ; wherthrow the Paip, themperour and all thers becam  
his ennemys. He again desyrus to won frendis, delt with the King  
of France, the K. of Scotland, the K. of Denmark, and the preincis  
protestantis in Dutcheland. Bot of all thir, he thocht the frendship  
and concurrence of K. James the fyft, his eldest sister sone, mycht stand  
hym in gretest steid. For he layed a plat with him self, and wes  
determinit to vnit this yle in a religion, and in ane empyre, sailgeing  
of aires mailes procreat of his awen body ; having then bot a dochter,  
callit Mary, with the deuoreit Quen : quhilk dochter he declairit to be

ane baftarde ; and fend in Scotland for his ambaffadour Lord William Houert, with all thir perfuafions and many vther fair offers. Quhilkis the King and haill eftaitis thocht very raifonable and acceptable, and promysed a meting ; quhilk the faid ambaffadour requyred to be at York. Sa the ambaffadour retournit weill content vnto his maifter, wha wes very glaid, and maid gret preparation to refaue honorably his fifter fonne. Bot the clargy of Scotland, efter that they had aduysed together, being fworn cleantis to the Paip, thocht neceffary to effey all ther credit, craft, and moyens, how to brek the King from this meting ; and addreffit them felues to fic as wer myngnons for the tym, and had his Maieftis ear, to hald hand with fome of the kirk that wer alfo maift famyliers with his Maiefte, to get the faid meting ftayed ; vſing many perſwaſions, how K. James the firſt was retenit in England ; of the auld leig with France ; of themperours fead, and the Paipes curling ; and of the horrible hereſie that wes laitly ryſen vp, and had infected the maift part of England, afweill as the King hym ſelf ; and alſo how that many noblemen and barrons of Scotland wer fauorers of the ſaidis hereſies, quhilk it wes meit the K. ſuld preuene in tym ; wherby he mycht alſo augment his rentis be ther landis, and enriche him ſelf be ther eiſcheitis, of ſa many whais names they gaif vp in a row of paiper ; quhilk the K. pat in his pouche, and thocht it a meit propoſition, and profitable to put in execution.

The Lard of Grange wes new maid treſorer, and in gret fauour with the K., and wes not yet diſcouerit to be a fauorer of the euangell ; bot the K. eſtemed him trew, and deſyrous till aduance his hynes profit, and very ſecret ; therefore thocht meit to mak hym preuy to this profitable ouertour, and ſchaw vnto hym the wreten row, with the noble-



men and barrons names, wha wer geuen vp to be brunt for hieresie, and of the gret proffit that mycht be had therby. Wherat the Lard of Grange  
P. 31. began to fnyll, and the King till enquiryre wherat he leuch. The treforer desyred leaue at his Maieste to tell hym the treuth. With this the King drew out his swerd, and said merrely to him, " I fall fley the gif thou speake agaynst my proffit." Then the K. pat vp his swerd, and commandit hym to schaw him what raisons he culd allege agaynst the prelatis proposition. The treforer began to delait what troubles his Maieste had been toffit with during his minorite, for the gouernement; first, betwen the Quen his mother and the lordis; then betwen dyuers factions of lordis; couped fra hand till hand, and keped agaynst his will as captyue; sometyms besegit, sometyms brocht till battaill agaynst his will be the Douglais, to feicht contrair the Erle of Lenox and his best freindis, wha was slain, commyng at his desyre to releaue hym; the prelatis being parteners, for ther ambition, somtymes with a faction, somtymes with another; and how that they culd nether agre amang them selues, nor let his Maieste tak rest. vntill the Duc of Albany was chosèn Gouernour and brocht out of France. Wha had enough ado also; for he wald haue fayn done plesour to France, and raisit a gret army of Scotifmen till enter in England, wha wer making waires in France for the tym. Bot he gat a rebut when he was at the borders of England; for they wald marche na farther, alleging that the K. wes yet yong, and the K. of Englandis sifter sone; and how that K. James the fourt his father, without purpos, past with his army at the plesour of France agaynst his awen gud brother the K. of England, wher he lost his lyf at the feild of Floudoun, and parellit his haill contre; sa this gud Duc was fayn to retier him

till France. “ And efterwart your Maieſte tok the gouvernement in your awen handis, at the age of 13. yeares ; 3it they clapped again about yow, and kept yow twa yeares as captyue. And now ye ar bot laity com to your liberte, and your contre is not yet ſa weill ſattelit as miſter wer ; albeit your Maieſte hes done very mekle in ſa ſhort ſpace, as till ſattle the hylandis, ylles and borders. It wer dangerous that your nobilite ſuld get intelligence, that ſic gredy fetches ſuld be put in your head, vnder pretext of hereſie, to ſpoilge ſa many of them of ther lyues and landis and geir ; wherin ye may parell your awen eſtair, at the inſtance of them whais eſtair are in parell, and wald hazard you and yours to ſaif ther awen. The prelatis, I mean, fearis that your Maieſte, at the example of the K. of England, of Denmark, and prencis of thempyre, mak the lyk reformation among them ; therfore they haue

P. 32. na will of your familierite with the K. of England, nor that your eſtair ſuld be ſa ſattelit, that ye mycht put ordour to the abuſis of the kirk. Doted not ane of your predeceſſours, callit S<sup>t</sup> Dauid, the maiſt part of the patrimony of the crown to the kirk, erecking the ſame in biſhoprickis and rich abeſſies ? wherby your Maieſte is preſently ſa pure, and the prelatis ſa riche, ſa prodigall, and ſa prowde, that they will ſuffer nathing to be done by them ; and ar alſo ſa ſworn to the Paip of Rome, when they get their benifices confirmed, that they aucht not to be credited in any thing that may tueche the Paipes proffit or preferment. As the Venitiens, being the wyſeſt commoun weill, will not ſuffer any prelat, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abyde or ſtand in ther counſaill houſe, when they ar at ther counſaill ; becauſe they know them to be ſa ſtraitly ſworn to the Paip.” Then he declairit ſome of the groſſeſt abuſis of the Romain kirk, and the vngodly lyues of the

Scotis prelatiſ, quhilk the King and haill contre nicht ſe. “Therfor,” ſaid he, “gene your Maieſte wald do weill and be riche, ye may juſtly tak hame again to the proffit of the crown, all vacand benifices, be litle and litle, as they may fall be diſceiſ of euey prelat.” Anent his Maieſteis promys maid to the ambaſſador of England, ther mycht com gret trouble and waires, gif it wer not keped. For K. Hary 8. was a curagious and hych conceated prince, and apperit to haue ane vprycht meanyng for the tym; and occaſions preſſit hym therto, having ſa gret turnes in hand, and ſamany gret ennemys; without ſucceſſion, ſaving the foirlaid dochter; corpulant and fat, that ther was ſmall hope of vther aires; the K. being his eldeſt ſiſter ſone, nereſt of bluid and ableſt to mantean and vnit the haill yle of Bretane. And as to the reteanyng of K. James the firſt, he wes not in the lyk caice, nor had not the lyk meit tym; he was not the K. of Englandis ſiſter ſone, nor his apperant ayre. And what hard ſucces had the King his father, for making wair againſt the K. of England his gud brother, was ouer manifetly felt be the haill ſubiectis; and litle better to be loket for, incaice of a new vnneceſſary wair be maid, for your Maieſte way byding fra the ſaid meting at York.

The K. tok ſic delyt in this langage, that he determinit to folow fourth the effect therof; and at the firſt meting with the prelatiſ, wha had then very gret reull in the contre, he culd not contean hym any langer, when they cam, trowing to ſe ther platiſ put in excuſion. Efter many ſour reproſſis, for that they wald cauſe hym vſe ſic creuel-tie vpon ſa many noble men and barrons, to the parell of his awen eſtat, he ſaid, “wherfore gaif my predeceſſoris ſa many landis and rentis to the kirk? Was it to mentean halkiſ, doggiſ, and hureſ,

to a number of ydle preftis? The K. of England burnis, the K. of Denmark beheadis you; bot I fall ftik you with this fame quhinger.” And therwith he drew out his dager vpon them, and they fled in gret fear from his prefens. Then again the King tok deliberation to fulfill his promyfe of meting with his oncle the King of England, and thocht it baith his honnour and greteft aduancement fa to do.

P. 33. The prelatiſ of Scotland thinking them felues far ouerſchot, and thereby in a very hard eftait, confulted together how to bring the K. again vpon their oppinion; and thocht meteft way was, till mak ane offer vnto the King, to pay hym yearly of the rentis of the kirk, fyfty thouſand crownis, to mentean fied wageours, by the ordinary ſubiectis that obey the proclamation, in caice the K. of England wald mak warres againſt Scotland for the Kingis abyding from the meting at York. And they thocht that, howbeit this gold wald be a gret alurement to the King, wha lyked weill to be riche, yet without the matter wer proponit and fauorably interpret to his Maieſte be ſic as had his ear; they beſtowed largely of ther geir vnto his maiſt famylier ſaruantis, and promyſed farther vnto Olypher Singklair, that they ſuld cauſe hym be aduancit to gret honnoures, and to be maid maifter of the camp or lieutenant of the haill armye againſt England, incaice that K. Hary wald intend any warres againſt the King; quhilk they affirmed he wald not, nor durſt not for the tym, having ſa many yrnies in the fyre alredy. Sa this purpoſ being ernestly put in head, and als ernestly apprehendit be the myngnons in court, wha be flattery wan greteft fauour; and cheifly be drawing of fair maidnes vnto the K., and ſtryving to be the firſt aduertifiers whais dochter ſche was, and how ſche mycht be obtainit, and lykwais of mens wyues; they awaited for a convenient tym,

when the tresorer fuld be absēt ; wha was a stout bald man, therfor they durst not speake in his presens ; for he alwayes offerit the singulair comabat, and be the point of the swerd to mentean any thing that he spak. Now he wes absēt from court ; for the K. had geuen the ward and mariage of Kelly in Angus to his second sone, and he wes past ther to tak possession therof. In his absens then, this new deuysse wes delaited vnto the K. be Olypher Sinklair ; and sa eloquently set out be sic of the clairgy as had bene in best acquentence with his Maieste, that he gaif gud ear therto ; adding sa many vther perswasions vnto them that they had maid of before, and at sic meit tymes, when they brocht vnto hym fair maidnes and mens wyues, that he wes won again to ther oppinion. Then they tok occasion to schaw his Maieste, that the lard of Grange his tresorer was also becom ane heretik, and that he had alwayes a New Testament in Englis in his poutche ; and lykwayes that he was becom sa proud and myskennen, puft vp be his Maiesteis fauour, that na man mycht byd him ; and then that he was sa extrem gredy, that he wes vnmeit for the office of tresorer, and ouer bald to haue procured for his second sone the riche ward and mariage of Kelly, worth xx thousand pond, as they allegit. The King answerit to that, how he estymed him to be a plane frank gentilman, and that he loued him sa, that he wald geue hym again the said ward and mariage for a word of his mouth. The pryour of Pittinwem replied and said, “ Sir, the ayre of Kelly is a lusty fair lais, and I durst plege my lyf that gene your Maieste wald send for hir presently, that he sall refuse to send her vnto you.”

- p. 34. The King affirmyng still the contrary, ther was a mysslyue wreten ; and the prelatis and ther factioners devyfed that the said pryour of Pittinweme fuld cary the wreteng, and bring ouer the maiden ayre of Kelly

to the King. Bot the treforer, wha knew hym to be his deadly enemy, refused platly; alleging the said pryour to haue bene all his dayes a vill hurnefter, and had in his tym defowled dyuers maidnes; therefore he thocht hym ane vnmeit messenger. Wha was sa glaid as he to return with this bakward answer; and tuk his associatis with him vnto the K., whom they kendlit vp in ane gret colair against the treforer; and handled the matter sa fynly and haitly, that they obtenit a warrant, and to charge the treforer till ward within the Castell of Edenbrough; quhilk they forget not to do at his first commyng to court. He again gessit that leasingis wald be maid against him, and therefore vsed gret deligence to be at the K.; and notwithstanding of ther charge, past pertly to his Maieste, wha was at his supper in Edenbrough. Bot the King looked down vpon hym, and wald not speak nor ken hym. He steppit forward, and said, "Sir, what offence haue I committed? I had as mekle of your fauour when I parted with your hynes licence, as any vther." The K. said, "Why refused thou to send me the maiden that I wret for, and gaif proud dispytfull langage to hym that I send." "Sir," said he, "pleise your grace, he is not about you that dar debait that leasing. As for the maiden, I said to the pryour of Pettinwem, that I was euell anoughe to be the messenger my self, and to convoy hir vnto his Maieste; bot thocht him vnmeit, wha wes a manifest forcer of women, and the gretest defouler of wyues and maidnes that wes in Scotland." The K. said, "Then hes thou brocht the gentilwoman with thee?" "Yes, sir," said he. Then said the K. "Alace, they haue set out sa many leasingis against the, that they haue obtenit of me a warrant to put thee in ward; bot I fall mend it with a contrary command." Then said the treforer, lamentingly, "It is a small matter of

my lyf or warding; bot alace, fir, it brekis my hart that the world fuld heir of your facilitie";—quhilk the K. layed vpon their importunite. Bot the tresorer was mair fory that, in his absens, they had caused the King to fend in England, and discharge the meting between him and the K. of England; wha tok sic anger and displefour that he was fa scornit, that he sent ane army in Scotland to distroy with fyre and sword. Albeit the K. lyked nathing of this wair, he was still halden in hope that it fuld tend to his gret honour and weall; and that England had samikle a do, that they wald schone repent them, and be compellit to sut for peace or treues or it wer lang. In the mean tym they gold was maid redy, till encorage the K., and promyses of mekle mair incaice the war continowed.

P. 35. The King culd not bot raise ane army to defend his contre and subiectis, wha past to that wair, to schaw ther obedience, against ther hartis. Bot when they parsauid Olypher Sincklair raised vp vpon mens schoulders, and proclaimed lieutenant ouer the haill armye, besyd the Solan moss, the lord Maxuell for dispyt, wha thocht to haue had that charge, and the rest of the lordis wha mislyked that the court and contre fuld be gouernit be sic mean men, wald not feicht vnder sic a lieutenant, bot suffered them felues all to be tane prisoners. Sa the haill armye being ouerthrawn, pat the K. in a gret displefour, and gaif occasion to sic as wer fauorers of the twa Kingis meting, to speak ther plefour against the prelatis proceedingis. The K. also bursted out with some langage against them, quhilk cam ouer schone to ther eares; for the K. lyued not lang efter, and dyed in Faeland, for displefour, as some allegit; vthers held oppinion again, that he wes poisonit be sic of the prelatis that had brocht him in that trouble of mynd, be ther prac-



tyfes and perfwaſions, and had lernit that art in Italy callit ane Italien poſſat.

The Cardinall David Betoun was beſyd his Maieſte in the mean tyme, and cauſed wret a maner of ane teſtament, at his awen pleſour and dyting, as was allegit ; and therfore it was annullit and brocht bak again efterwart. Bot the K. of England culd not forget the injury and diſpleaſour for the Kingis promyſe breking, and for his death. For the angry waires that he had maid, wes rather to moue the K. and eſtatis of Scotland, to juge whither his frendſchip or fead had bene meteft ; and was ſtill in hope with tyme to haue won the K. again, with the content of the beſt part of his ſubiectis, to jun in band and alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe with him and his contre. For he vnderſtod of the Kingis worthy qualitis, and had a maruelous gret loue and lyk- ing of hym ; and thoct he culd not leaue the kingdome in a better hand then to his awen ſiſter ſonne, ſibbeſt of bluid vnto hym, and meat-eſt of any vther to build vp a fair monarchie, to be begun firſt in a maner in his awen perfoun ; in reſpect that for his tyme, (quhilk he loked wald be ſchort,) his ſiſter ſonne wald be bot his coadjutour and leutenant, and efter him bruik the hailwair, vnder a religion, a law, and a leid ; and thoct therby that France ſuld neuer get plaice again, to ſteir vp the ane contre againſt the vther ; nor that the Paip ſuld never get any entre, to tak vp ſic ſowmes of ſiluer from his ſubiectis for confirmations of benefices, nor for his bullis and diſpenſations ; and alſo to want S' Peters peny, and his allegit ſuperiorite of England for euer. For his wrath and vengeance againſt the Paip wes excyding gret ; for he had maid hym many promyſes, and had broken them all ; fering as ſaid is till offend themperour, wha wes ſa gret and mychty a prince. Therfore



the K. of England, ſeing he had loſt the eſperance [of] the Scotis aly-  
 ance and concurrence, compellit the gentilmen of England to eſcambion  
 ther landis, with the landis of abbayes cloſters and vther temporell  
 P. 36. kirk landis ; and gaif them mair nor ther awen to kepe, that the ſaid  
 landis ſuld neuer retourn again to the kirk, without a maniſeſt rebel-  
 lion, or a dangerous ſubuertion of the hail eſtate of the contre. And  
 to be revengit vpon the ſaid Cardinall David Betoun, (whom he thoct  
 had diſappointed him of all the hope he had of Scotland,) he delt with  
 Sir George Douglaus and the Erle of Angus, wha wer bot laity re-  
 tournit out of England, wher they abaid baniſſit vnto the death of K.  
 James the fyft. Thir twa brether, appering to be of the reſourmed re-  
 ligion, perſuaded Normond Letly meſter of Rothies, the yong lard of  
 Grange, and Jhon Letly of Parkhill, wha had been perfecuted be the  
 ſaid Cardinall for religion, efter that he had tane ther prechour, Meſ-  
 ter George Wiſchart, and brunt him at St Androues ;—thir I ſay wer  
 eaſely ſterit vp to ſley hym, whom they wer perſuadit to be ennemy  
 to the trew religion, to the weall of the contre and thers in particular.  
 This proud Cardinall was ſlain then in his awen caſtell of St Androues ;  
 and ſa endit, with all his practyſes, and obtenit nathing bot vain trauell  
 for his pretencis and ſodan death ; with the death of a worthy K., wha  
 wes inclynit to juſtice, and gaif na credit to his officers in thir twa ſpe-  
 ciall pointis, to reward and puniſe. For wha euer did hym gud ſerueice,  
 he wald ſe them rewardit, yea albeit they chancit to be abſent ; and  
 anent puniſhment of euell doers, ſa ſchone as he hard the complaint, he  
 lap vpon his horſe and raid to the part him ſelf, with a few company,  
 or they culd be war of him, and wald ſe ſcharp execucion ; ſa that he  
 wes baith loued and feared. He wes very curagious, weill fauored and

schepen, something out cuted, of a middle stature, very able and clean  
pithed; but euell company fell about hym, entring out of adolescence  
in furious youth, and entyfed him till harlettrie; stryving wha shuld spy  
out the fairest maidnes, and lykwyse at lenth of mens wyues; with the  
quhilkis he abused his body, to the offence of God and dyvers gud sub-  
iectis, and wes not left vnpunished; for he had bot twa yong sonnes,  
and they died baith within xlvij houres; so that at his discesse, he had  
bot a only dochter, callit Mary, new born when he was vpon his dead  
bed; at quhilk tyme he was bot of the age of [thirty-one.]

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- P. 37. **K**YNG JAMES the 5., as said is, leaving behind him Marie his only dochter for our Quene, as K. Hary the 8. of England left a only sone callit Edward the fext; the kingis and estaitis of baith the contrees. defyring itill this haille yll of Bretain to be vnited in a monarchie. maid a contract of mariage between the yong K. and Quen. Quhilk being efterwart broken vpon our part, and hir Maieste transported till France be the west sees, ther fell out a creuell wair between the twa contrees for that cause, quhilk with tyme was tane vp, and agreed that K. Edward shuld mary Elyzabeth, eldest dochter till Hendry 2. King of France, and Francois his sone to mary our Quen. My L. Hammiltoun being aduancit to the gouvernement of the contre, be the lard of Grange treforer, Mester Hendre Belnaves, and vthers that wer of the refourmied religion, when as he apperit to be a trew gospeller, was schone efterwart alterit be the abbot of Pasleley his bastard brother, and becam a gret persecutour of Godis word; and was as easely drawn to brek the said contract of mariage maid between K. Edward and our yong Quen. be the perswasions of the said abbot and the Cardinall. And efter that the Cardinall wes slain, he gydit all his allane, and was maid Archebischop of Sanctandrowes; and also in gret fauour with the Quen Dowager for a tyme, vntill efterwart that he becam hir enemy, and contrary till all hir pretencis and procedingis, as false schawin efterwart when the matters commes in hand. For efter that the yong Quen was in France, ther wes gret disputing baith in France and also in Scotland.

whether the mariage with the Delphin of France ſuld tak effec or not ; for euen then ther wer twa factions in the Frenche court. Firſt the brether of the houſe of Guiſe, as the Duc of Guiſe and Cardinall of Lorraine, brether to our Quen Dowagier, and oncles to our yong Quen Mary, preſſit ernerſtly to ſet fordwart the ſaid mariage with France. The auld Conſtable Duc of Montmorancy was of oppinion, that it was meſteſt to mary hir vpon ſome duc or prence of France, and to ſend them baith hame to abyd in Scotland, and to hald ther awen contre in gud obedience. Becauſe when prencis ar abſent, and far af fra ther awen, rewling ther contrees be lieutenantis, maiſt commonly the ſubiectis of ſic contrees vſes to rebell ; quhilk gene the ſubiectis in Scotland did, it wald be hard and coſtly to get them reducit ; and therby, in ſted to mak France the better of the mariage with the Delphin, it mycht mak it to be in a far war caice. The houſe of Guiſe, again, deſyryng to haue ther ſiſter dochter Quen of France, till augment ther reputation and credit, preualit ; alleging how it wald be baith honorable and proffit-able to the crown of France, and that ther wald be reuenus enough to mantean garniſſons within the contree, to hald the ſubiectis vnder obedience ; bigging ma citadelis, and hauyng the hail ſtrenthes in ther handis.

In Scotland alſo, the Quen Regent was of the ſame oppinion with hir brether, and beleued to haue the hail prelatis vpon hir ſyd ; wha had  
 P. 38. gret reull and autorite for the tym, and had aſſiſted hir to the breking of the contract of mariage with England, and tranſporting of the yong Quen to France. Bot now the Archebiſhop of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes began to think, that incaice the yong Quen died without ſucceſſion of hir body, that the Erle of Arran his neveu mycht the eyfelyer be crownit, (the

Gouverneur his father being alredy in possession,) was against the transporting of the crown matrimonial till France; and having for the tym the haill gyding baith of the Gouverneur his brother and of the contre, drew easely the maist part of the prelatis vpon his oppinion. Wherthrow the Quen Dowagier wes compellit to addrefs hir to a contrary faction, to wit, the maist part of the nobilite and bourrowes, wha wer becom professours of the reformed religion. Wynnynng twa of the estaitis vpon hir syd, sche obtanit hir intent; quhilk maid hir eftirwart to schaw greter fauour vnto them of the reformed religion, ouerfeing ther secret prechingis; wherby the religion increffit, sa that the maist part of the contre becam professours or protestantis, and sic as wer banissit for religion and for the Cardinalis slachter, brocht hame to fortifie the faction that fauorit maist the weall of hir Maiesteis affaires. In the mean tym the bischop of Sanctandrowes fell seak, sa that he lost his speach and was geuen ouer for dead; at what tym the Quen Dowagier tok occasion to get the gouvernement out of the L. Hammiltouns handis, be the help of the saidis lordis protestantis and ther dependers. Bot eftirwart the bischop recouert his speatch, be the strange industrie of Cardanus, as wes allegit; wha when he hard that his brother my L. Hammiltoun had geuen ouer the gouvernement to the Quen, he was in a gret rage, and maid a gret exclamation, saying, "Fy on him beast, ther is bot a skitteren las between hym and the crown." Alwayes, be sic meanis, the Quen Dowagier becam Quen Regent.

The mariage of hir dochter Quen Mary being perfourmed with Francis Delphin of France, a litle before wynnynng of Calice be the Duc of Guise, now com hame out of Italy, wher he had bene with a faire army to help Pape Caraph; wha had caused the K. of France brek the trewes with the

K. of Spaine, for his particulair ; and not only caused the said K. brek the paice, together with his solemne oath at the eating of the sacrement between the commiffioners of the twa Kingis, bot also the Pape brak his promys maid to the K. and Duc of Guise, efter his turn was seruit be the said armye sent in Italy ; quhilk falbe mair particlairly declairit in another place. Be the breking of the said paice, the K. of France tint the battaill of Sinkantin, and the battaill of Grevelins, with the toun of St Quentin, Han, and Cattlelet. Wherby the K. of Francis estait wes ia hard, that he wes compellit to tak ane hurtfull paice, at Catteau Cambriſy ; wher I wes for the tym with my maister the Conſtable, yet captue, as he wes tane priſoner at the said battall of St Quentin.

P. 39. With the said Conſtable wer adjunct in commiffion the Cardinalis of Lorrain, Chatillon, Marchall of St Andre, Biſhop of Orleans, and the ſecretaire Aubepin. For the K. of Spain wer the Duc of Alb, Prince of Orange, Sir Rygomes Eſpanioll, and Cardinall Granvell. For Quen Mary of England wer commiffioners, my L. Willyem Hauert, the Biſhop of Ely, and Doctour Wittoun. Thir commiffioners maid paice between France, Spain, England and Scotland. Not without cauſe mak I mention of this paice, quhilk the Conſtable was ernest to bring to paſs, and the Cardinall of Lorrain deſyrit warres ; for by the paice, the Conſtable wald get liberte to com hame out of priſoun, to gyd the K. and court of France as he was wont to do ; by the warres, he wald remain priſoner, leaving the gouvernement of the K. and court of France to the Cardinall, and Duc of Guise his brother. Spain, that wer victorious, tok aduantage of ther ſtryf and emulation ; and France and England loſt be the said paice ; the King inelyning maift to the Conſtables confell. England again deſyring that Calice fuld be reſtored

vnto them, and beleuit that the K. of Spain wald not agre, without they wer satisfeid in ther demandes, wer frustrat of ther expectation. At lenth seing the tua gret Kingis cairles of ther contentement, they seamed to be content (albeit they wer not) with a scornfull midis that was casten in be the Cardinall of Lorrain ; to wit, that Calice fuld be renderit vnto them at the end of aucht year, or else fywe hundreth thowfand crowns ; and for payment of the said fowm, incaice the said town was not renderit vnto them at the end of the tym specified, that in the mean tym they fuld haue thre gret men of France to kep, as pleges for the said fowm. Now the Englis commiffioners knew that nathing of this wald be kepit to them, seamed to be satisfied neuertheles, seing them left and abandonit be the commiffioners of Spain.

Sa the paice being concludit, Spain obtenit all ther desyres ; the Constable obtenit liberte ; the Cardinall of Lorrain culd not mend him self, na mair nor the commiffioners of England. This aduantage the said Cardinall tok at that tym, to cause the first article of the paice be, that all Chriftian and Catholyk princes aucht to leaue ther percialities, and jun together till suppress the gret multitud of heretikis, that wer sa increffit throw ther diuision, that it wald be hard enough to the Paip, themperour, the Kingis of Spain and France, together with the Quen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholyk faith. Another aduantage the said Cardinall thocht to recompense his lossis with wes, that at the end of the aucht yeares, when England wald lok other to get Calice restored again to them, or elis the fowmes of gold abone specified, he intendit to cause proclaim the Quen of Scotland his sister dochter, rychtuos Quen of England, and allege this Quen Elyfabethe to be bot a bastard ; and be that way, not only Calice bot all England fuld partean to the



Quen of Scotland. As for the plegis, sic men to be chofen out that  
P. 40. France wald mak litle accompt of ther tincell ; as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Candall,  
Mons<sup>r</sup> de Palefau, and the Erle of Nantullet proueft of Paris.

Efter the making of this paice, ambaffadours wer fent till Flanders and  
England ; the Cardinall of Lorrain out of France to fwer and tak the  
King of Spanes aith, and to fwer for the K. of France obferuation therof ;  
the Secretair Dardois wes alfo fend out of France, to do the lyk in the  
name of the Delphin of France, and Quen of Scotland his fpoufe ; ge-  
ving them this new ftyll, “ In the name of Francis and Mary King and  
Quen of Scotland, England, and Yreland, Delphin and Delphinnes of  
Viennois.” Wherat the Duc of Alb and Cardinall Granuell fnyled, and  
faid, this will bred fome new bufynes or it be lang. The Cardinall of  
Lorrain fchortly efter caufed renew all the Quen of Scotlandis filuer  
veffell, and pat theron the armories of England. The Marchall of  
Montmorancy, the Conftables eldeft fone, wes fent in England to fwer  
the paice, and to tak the Quen of Englandis aith ; bot fa fchone as thir  
new ftylles and armories wer knawen to Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun,  
then ambaffadour for the Quen of England in France, he complenit to  
the K. and confaill, and gat bot Dutche excufes ; alleging that, in  
Dutcheland, all the prencis brether, cufins or bairnes, ar ftyllit prencis  
or duckis of that fame houfe.

To fwer the paice in Scotland, the Conftable wald haue the K. to fend  
me ; bot the Cardinall of Lorrain allegit, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Buttoncourt mefter  
houhald to the Quen Regent meter ; becaufe the inftructions tendit to  
declair vnto the Quen Regent, how that the firft and principall article  
of the paice wes, that the Paip, themperour, the Kinges of Spain and  
France, fuld band together to reduce again the maift part of Europe to



the Romain Catholik religion, and till perswade and punishe with fyre and sword all heretikis that wald not willingly condiscend to the same; willing the Quen Regent to do the lyk in Scotland, and to begin in tym, before the heresies shuld spred any farther; quhilk, be her gentill bearing, had already tane ouer gret place, as was reported to the K. of France; preing hir diligently to put ordour therto, without any fear or respect of persones; seeing that na contre it allain was able to withstand the haill forces of so many confederat gret Catholik prencis. Wherat the Quen Regent apperit to be sorry, because that they wer hir best frendis for the tym, that wer noted to be professours of the reformed religion; and be the deligent preachingis of the ministers, wer growen to sic a gret number, that it wald be a dangerous and difficill matter to get them compellit.

Bot the instructions of Buttoncourt, as weill to Mons<sup>r</sup>. Doseill lieutenant in Scotland for the K. of France, sa also to sic vthers as had gret credit about hir Maieste, wer so earnest and so strait, with some boist, that sche determinit to set fordwart a strait commandement, a litle before Paice, (Easter,) that euery man gret or finall shuld obserue the Catholik Romane religion, to pass daly to the mess; and then at Paice to mak ther confession in the ear of a prest, and resauie the sacrement. And be mouth, to so many of the nobilitie and vthers that hir Maieste wes acquainted with, sche admonisht them, and schew them the commiission that wes sent to hir out of France; and the danger, in case it wer not obeyed.

P. 41. Quhilk when the nobilitie and the estaitis of the contre persauit to be earnest, and wer also boisted be Mons<sup>r</sup>. Doseill, they left the court, and consulted together what was metest for them to do; then send vnto hir Maieste my Lordis of Argyll and Lord James Pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, to schaw hir Maieste, in name and behalf of the rest, how that they wer

parmitted be hir Maieſte to haue ther awen miniſters of ſic a lang continuance, ſometymes ſecretly and ſometymes openly ; that the trew religion had tane ſic rut into them be hir tollerance, and that the number of trew profeſſours wer ſa gret and increaſt, that they wald rather geue ther lyues than to rekant ; and eſtemed ther vocation lawfull, becauſe ſche gaif ſic power to them that wer noblemen, ſchereſis and maiestratis vnder hir.

This langage ſche thocht as ſtrange, as they thocht hir proclamation ; ſa that ſche began to perſecut, and they to rebell, and tak the feildis, and band them ſelues together, vnder the name of the Congregation ; and thereafter brak down ymages, kirkis and cloſters. And the Quen Regent ſend to France, and aduertit of that diſordour quhilk wes fallen fourth, requyring mair help and forces, or elis all wald be loſt ; and ſche feared that my L. James pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Androus, ſone naturell to K. James the 5., wald vnder pretext of this new religion, vſurp the crown of Scotland, and pluk it clean away from the Quen hir dochter, without ſodain remedy wer put therto. Wherupon the Conſtable of France tok occaſion to moue the K., whais penſioner I was for the tyme, to ſend me in Scotlaud. Firſt the K. gaue me his commiſſion be mouth ; and then the Conſtable, his cheif conſeillour, directed me at lenth in his Maieſteis preſens as folowes.

“Your natyue Quen,” ſaid he, “is married heir in France vpon the King Delphin ; and the King is infourmed be the Cardinall of Lorrain, that ane baſtard ſone to K. James 5., callit Priour de S<sup>t</sup> Andre, pretendis vnder coulour of religion till vſurp the kingdome vnto him ſelf. His Maieſte knawes that I was euer againſt the ſaid mariage heir ; fearing therby to mak our auld frendis our new ennemys, as is lyk till com till paſs this day ; bot I gaue ouer gret place to the houſe of Guiſe, to deall in the

affaires of Scotland, becauðe the Quen Regent is ther sifter. Now feing ther violent proceedingis sa lyk to cautle the kingdome of Scotland be loft from the lawfull Quen, I mon nedis medle and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that nation nor apperantly they haue. I assure yow, that the K. is myndit to wair and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir rycht, now feing that sche is married vpon his sone; and purposis to raise and send ane armye in Scotland for that effect. Quhilk he wald fayn eschew, gif it wer possible; for now, efter that his Maieste hes had wairres lang anough with his auld ennemys, and agreed with them for gud respectis, he is laith till enter again in a new vnneccessary wair with his auld frendis, quhilk parchance is brocht on be euell handling, and not in ther default. I heir that Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill is collick, and ouer angry and impatient folkis ar not meit to reull ouer far and frembd contrees. I haue also intelligence, that the Quen Regent has not kepit all thingis promysed vnto them. The K. my maister is not sa rasche

P. 41. as to geue haifty credence, that Scotland, wha haue keped salang frendship with France, will now sa leichtly brek the auld band, nor abandon deute to ther lawfull prince. Again, what inconvenientis may aryse vpon sic far and ouersee warres; the King is not yngnorant, what gret charges it is till furnishe out schippis, quhilkis parchance may be thryse vitallit before they mak faille, be raisoun of contrary windis; and then, the accustomed stormes of your sees ar very paelous. Was not the Markyls de Albeuf, with his schippis, dryuen vpon the coast of Norroway, when he thocht to haue landit in Scotland, sa that his voyage did na gud bot expensis? Tak that our army wer weill landit in Scotland, how oft may they haue neid of support, when we, be rai-

foun of thir and findry vther lyk difficulteis, will not be able to help them, as we haue ouer gud experience, when Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge was there ?

“ I haue brocht you vp from a chylde ; I vnderstand that ye ar com of a gud house ; I haue assured the King what gud proif I haue of your honestie ; sa that his Maieste is weill myndit towardis yow ; at whais hand I hope ye sall deferue at this tym a gud reward. This is a nother maner of commission, and of greter importance than it that Bottoun-court caried ; for the K. will stay or send his armye according to your trew report. Seam only to be ther for to vefit your frendis ; bot let nether the Quen Regent, nor Doseill knaw of your commission, quhairin ye ar employed be the K., wha is now your best maister.

“ First try deligently and parfytly weill, whither the said Pryour pretendis till vsurp the crown of Scotland to him self ; or gene he be mouit to tak armes only of conscience, for defence of his religion, him self and his dependers and associatis. Nyxt try what promyses ar broken vnto him and them ; be whom, and at whais instance. Thridly, gene they desyre another lieutenant, in steid of Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill.

“ Gif it be only religion that moues them, we mon commit Scotismens faules vnto God ; for we haue enough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew vnto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes, that the K. desyres. Gene ane promysis be maid to them and not kept, the King nor I has not the wyet. Gif they desyre another lieutenant in sted of Doseill, the K. sall send ane that I hope sall please them.” He menit of Mons<sup>r</sup> Dandelot, his sisters sone.

Efter that the Constable had endit his instructions, the K. layd his hand vpon my schulder, and said, “ Do as my gossop hes directed, and

I fall reward yow." Sa I kiffit his Maieſteis hand, and tok my leaue, poſſing throw England, and fand the Quen Regent within the auld tour of Facland; becauſe that ſame day, hir army vnder my L. Duc Hammiltoun and Mons<sup>r</sup> Dofeill, wes rangit in battaill vpon Couper mure, againſt the lordis of the congregation. At what tym, hir Maieſte maid ane hard mean vnto me of hir diſobedient ſubiectis; bot euen as I was ſpeaking with hir, the Duc and Mons<sup>r</sup> Dofeill cam bak fra the ſaid mure, without battaill; wherat the Quen wes very far offendit, and thoct that they had loſt a very fair occaſion.

P. 43. Then I vied gret moyens to get ſur knowlege gene my L. James Pryour of Sanctandrowes minted to mak hym ſelf K., as was reported of hym. Meſter Hendre Belnaves was then in gret credit with hym, and loued me as his awen ſone, be ſome acquaintance I had with him in France, and pleſoures I had done to him during his baniſement. He firſt ſchew vnto me, ſa far as he knew of my L. James intention; and encouragit me to be plane with the ſaid L. James, and aſſured me of ſecreſie, and of honeſt and plain dealing; for he was a godly, learnit, lang experimented, wyſe confellor; and paſt with me to the ſaid Lord Pryour. Who efter I had ſchawen him my commiſſion, quhilk was very acceptable vnto hym, he delayed not till aduyle with any vther of his counſaill, what anſwer he ſuld geue me, bot instantly and plainly ſchew me his mynd, in preſens of the ſaid meſter Hendre. Firſt, he declairit what acceptable ſeruiſe he and his aſſociatis had done to the Quen Regent, cheifly of lait when as the biſhop of St Androwes had drawn the maiſt part of the clargy againſt the mariage, and tranſporting of the crown matrimoniall in France; albeit he had bene a cheif aſſiſter of hir to tranſport the yong Quen ther, and to perſwad the Go-

uernour his brother to brek the contract of mariage with K. Edward of England, as is abone specified. He tald also, what liberte of conscience and ouersicht hir Maieste had granted vnto them, vntil the tym that hir maister houshald, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bouttoncourt, retournit from France with the newes of the paice. And wher as sche had sen syn chengit hir behaiour and contenance towardis him and them that had done hir best seruice, he knew weill enough that it proceedit not of hir awen gud natoure, bot be the persuations and thretenyngis of hir brother and frendis in France ; and farther reherfit vnto me all hir and ther formair proceedingis, wherof mention is maid alredy ; affirmyng still his gud will to hir Maiesteis seruice. And to put the Kingis Maieste of France, and hir Maieste, out of all suspition of his vsurpation, he suld banise him self perpetually out of Scotland, gif it wald please the K. of France and the Quen his souerane, to grant hym and his associatis sic liberte as the Quen Regent had parmitted them, vntill the hame-commyng of the said Buttoncourt ; prouyding that his rentis suld com to him till France, or any vther contre wher he pleasit to remain. And for securete heiroyf, sufficient plegis of the noblemen sonnes of Scotland suld be sent in France ; that na K. nor Quen of before has had better obedience, nor the Quen his souerane, notwithstanding of hir absens, suld haue.

- With this answer, I tok my journey throw England till France ; and at New Castell fell in company with ane Englisman, wha was ane of the Quenis varletis of hir chamber ; a man learnit in mathematik, *n.* 11. gromancye, astrologie, and was also a gud geographe ; wha had bene send be the confaill of England to the borders, and to draw a cart or map of sic landis as lyes loufe between England and Scotland ; quhilk



part was allegit to be a frutfull foill, and ferued for na vther purpos bot to loge and be a retrait to theues and lymmers. For then the Quen Elisabeth of England, laitly com to the crown, was aduytled be hir secreet confellours to render thai partis ciuill, and to enlarge hir boundis therby. I can not tell why they folowed it not fourth, bot supponis, that the variance that fell out between France and Scotland schortly eftir was the cause; and for that the maist part of Scotland junit with them, for to get ther help, as salbe schawen heiraftir. This Englis man and I, be the way enterit in sa gret familiarite, that he schaw me findre secretis of the contre and of the court; and amang vther thingis, how that K. Hary the 8., in his lyftym, had bene sa curious as till enquire at men callit deuyners or negromanciens, what suld becom of his sone K. Edward 6., and of his tua dochters Mary and Elyzabeth. Answer was maid vnto him again, that Prince Edward his sone suld haue na dayis nor succeffion; and that his twa dochters suld fucead, the ane eftir the vther; and that Mary his eldest dochter suld tak in mariage a Spanyart, and bring in samany of tha strangers in England, quhilk suld be cause of gret stryf and alteration; and that Elyzabeth suld regne efter hir, wha suld mary other a Scottisman or a Frenchman. Wherupon the King caused geue poyfoun to baith his said dochters; quhilk because it tok not sic fec as he supposed, (for they finding them selues alterit be vehement vomiting and laccetis, tok some remedy,) he caused proclame them baith bastardis. Bot the women that hanted with Quen Mary allegit that hir mattrice wes consumed; for sche was findre tymes supponit to be with chyld to the Kyng Phillip of Spain, yet brocht fourth na thing bot dead lumps of flesch, and monstres. Therefore to be reuengit vpon hir father, the Englisman tald me, that sche caused fe-

cretly in the nycht tak vp hir fathers banes, and maid them to be brunt. This the honeft man affirmed to be trew, and not knawen till many. He wes a man of gret grauite, about fyfty yeares of age ; and when he cam till London, he fchew me gret courtesie, and maid me presentis of fome bukis.

At my retournyng in France, I fand gret chengement. The King Hendre 2. being hurt in the head with the fkelv of a fpair, be the Conte of Mongomnery, at the triumphall iuftin of his dochters mariage with the K. of Spain, died aucht dayes efter, in the Turnelles at Paris ; and the Conftable my maifter wes commandit to retyre him fra court to his houfe, be the new K. Francis the 2. husband till our fouerane ; halely gydit then be the Duc of Guife and Cardinall of Lorraine, compeditours to the faid Conftable be court emulation. Quhilk was caufe that my voyage and anſwer wes all in vain ; for that purpos and plat fuld haue bene brocht till pafs by the houfe of Guife, wha wer thocht to be cheif caufers of the troubles in Scotland.

P. 15. When I fchew the Conftable at his houfe the anſwer of my commiſſion, quhilk was till his awen hartis defyre, the teares cam ouer his cheikis, faying, “ Alace for the los of the K. my gud maifter, that he fuld not haue fean before his death Scotland recouerit again, quhilk he eftemed tint ; and ye ar alfo fruſtrat of a gud reward, quhilk this your ſervice merited. Now I haue not ſic moyen as I had till aduance yow : bot gene ye will tak ſic part as I haue, ye ſalbe very welcom.” I anſwerit, that as I had bene with him in his proſperete, I wald not leaue him in his aduerſite.

Now ther wes na mair apperance of concord between the Quen Regent and the Congregation in Scotland ; for the K. of France wes raiſen men



of wair to fend in Scotland. The Congregation again socht help of the Quen of England; quhilk they obtenit, the rather becaufe that the Englis ambassadour resident in France aduertist his mestres, how that the Quen of Scotland and hir husband had tane on the styll of England and Yreland, and also the armes vpon ther siluer plait and tappisseryes.

The Quen Regent, with Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill and the Frenchemen, incloisè them selues within Leith; quhilk they did fortifie to kep, the better to resäue the Frenche support that wes daly lukit for to ther releaf. At lenth they that wer besègit maid a forty, tok the arteilgerie, and caused the Congregation to fle and retire, till ane army of England cam in vnder the condit of the Duc of Norfolk. At what tym the Quen Regent, being euell at ease for the see air in Leith, retirist hir self to the Castell of Edenburgh, wher sche tok seaknes and died. During the tym that Leith was besègit baith be Scotland and England, then all Scottisfimen that wer in France wer detested, and dyuers of them vpon suspition maid prisoners; quhilk caused me repair to the court from the Constables house, and requyred liffence at the Quen my souverain to visit vther contres, wherby I mycht be mair able efterwart to do hir Maieste agreable seruice. Hir Maieste presented me to the K. hir husband; kissing his Maisteis hand, I tok my leaue; and the Constable my gud maister, togither with the Conte Rygrauæ, wret in my fauouris to the Electour Palatin, wher I was aduytist first to remain, to learn the Duche tong; and wes courtefely resäuit be the said Prince Electour, and obtenit sic fauour with tym, that he send me in France så schone as he hard of the death of Francis 2. K. of France, wha died at Orleance in the year [1560.]

I wes send to condoll for the said Kingis death, as the custum of

princes is, and reioitè with the new yong K. Charles the ix. ; also to comfort our Quen and the Quen mother. This Kingis death maid a gret chengement ; for the Quen mother was blyeth of the death of K. Francis hir sone, becauſe ſche had na gyding of him, bot only the Duc of Guiſe and Cardinall his brother, be raiſoun that the Quen our maiſtres

P. 46. wes ther ſiſter dochter. Sa the Quen mother was content to be quyt of the gouvernement of the houſe of Guiſe ; and for ther cauſe, ſche had a gret miſlyking of our Quen. In the mean tym the King of Navar and Prince of Conde his brother, that wer wardit and ſuld haue bene execut thre dayes efter, the ſkaffald being alredy preparit, wer be the Quen mother releaut. The Conſtable alſo chargit to com to the court loked for na les, and feamed to be ſeak, making litle journees caried in a horſe litter, drewe tym ſa lang be the way that the K. in the mean tym died. Then he lap on horſbak and cam fracly to the court and commandit, lyk a Conſtable, the men of wair that gardit the crown be the Duc of Guiſe commandement, to pak them aff the toun. The Quen mother wes alſo very glaid of his commyng, that be his autorite and frendſchip with the K. of Navar, ſche mycht the better dryue the houſe of Guiſe to the dur. The eſtaitis chancit to be convenit at Orleans for the tym ; the K. of Navar, as nereſt of bluid, fell to be tutour and gouernour to the yong K. and contre ; bot the Quen mother knowing his facilite, handled the matter ſa fynly be the Conſtables help, that the K. of Navar procurit at the thre eſtaitis to grant that the Quen mother mycht be regent of the realm ; wher he gaif hir ouer his place, and wes content to be bot hir lieutenant.

Efter that ſche had won this high point, ſche cauſed the eſtaitis requyre a compt to be maid vnto them, afweill be the Conſtable as be

the Duc of Guise and the Cardinall, and Marchall of St Andre, of ther handling of the Kingis rentis and affaires of the crown and contre : quhilk becauße they culd not justly do, they wer fayn to leaue the court, as also the Marchall of St Andre, and bandit together to deffend them selues against the Quen mothers malice ; for siche wes a deadly ennemy to all them that had gydit other hir husband or hir eldest sone. I was all the whyll ther at Orleance, wher I mycht se this chengement ; and in gret fauour with the said K. of Navar, for the Electour Palatins saik, wha was his grettest frend ; and lyk wayes the Quen mother maid gret accompt of the said Prince Electour, and dispatched me with gret thankis and a fair reward worth a thousand crownis. Our Quen also, seing her frendis in disgrace, and knawen hir self no to be weill lyked, left the court, and was a forowfull wydow when I tok my leaue at hir in a gentilmans housse four myll fra Orleans. Sa I returnit in Dutcheland, with many instructions fra the Quen mother and K. of Navar ; for the Quen mother apperit to be a gaitwart to profes publykly the reformed religion, thinking it the metest way to reteane the gouvernement and gyding of the K. of Navar, and the metest faction to gainstand the housse of Guise, wha wer bandit with the Paip and K. of Spain. The said Quen again had in hir head to band with the princes protestantis of Dutcheland, and with the Quen of England, and with the Conte of Eggemont, Prince Orange, Conte of Horn, and sic as had in the Low Contrees embraffit the religion reformed.

I being retournit in Dutcheland, resaut newes out of England fra Maister Killigrew my auld frend, how that the paice was concludit in Scotland at the seige of Leith ; that the Frenchemen fuld be caried in  
p. 17. France be the Quen of Englandis schippis, and the Congregation till

haue the fre exerciſion of ther religion ; the Quen of Scotland to put away the armories of England, and alſo the ſtyll ; and the paice maid at Cambrifis to ſtand as it was ther concludit. I leaue all the proceedingis vpon the warres in Scotland to ſic as wer preſent, and will wret that haill hiſtory ; only I tueche ſic litle                    as I was employed intill my ſelf, or wher I was preſent, and ſaw with my eyn and hard with my eares ; quhilk may ſerue for litle parenteſis to the hiſtory wreters that par-chance wanted the knowlege therof.

Our Quen, then Douagiere of France, retired hir ſelf be litle and litle farther and farther fra the court of France ; that it ſuld not ſeem that ſche was in any ſort compellit therunto, as of a treuth ſche was, be the Quen mothers rygorous and vengeable dealing ; wha allegit that ſche was diſpyſed be hir gud dochter, during the ſhort regne of K. Francis 2. hir huſband, be the inſtigation of the houſe of Guiſe.

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Martegues, Mons<sup>r</sup> Doſeill, Mons<sup>r</sup> la Brois, the biſhop of Amyence, Mons<sup>r</sup> Ruby, and ſic vthers Frenchemen as wer laity caried out of Scotland within the Engliſh ſhippis, reſorted vnto the Quen, and delared vnto hir the haill progres and ſucces of ther pretencis ; and aſweill they as the reſt of hir frendis, aduſit hir to return in Scotland, and encouragit hir with the hope to ſucced vnto the crown of England, rather then to abyde the Quen mothers diſdain in France ; and for hir beſt, willit hir to ſerue the tym, and till accommod hir ſelf diſcretly and gently with hir awen ſubiectis, and to be maiſt famylier with my L. James Pryour of St Androwes hir naturell brother, and with the Erle of Argyll, wha had married Lady Jene Stuart hir naturell ſiſter ; and to vie the ſecretair Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange maiſt tenderly in all hir affaires ; and in effect, to repoſe maiſt vpon them of

the reformed religion. Sa they that wer a litle before creully persecuted, ar now to be fited for cheffest and furest frendis. Thus way can God be his devyn provydençe renverse the fynest practyses and pretences of mychty reulers and potentatis, and turn all to the best vnto them that serues him with a fencer hart. On the other part, God abhorris all sic subiectis as hypocritically vnder pretext of religion, tak occasion to rebell againt ther natyf princes, for ambition, gredynes or any worldly respect.

The Pryour of St Androwes being aduertist of the Quen his foue-  
 ranis deliberation to return in Scotland, and to vse him and his frendis  
 aduyse by all vthers, he passis him self in France, and requeistis hir  
 Maieste to com hame till her awen ; promysen to serue hir faithfully  
 to the vttermaist of his power ; and returnis again in Scotland befor hir,  
 to prepar the hartis of the subiectis again hir hame commyng. Eftir  
 this hir Maieste past to Jenville, the Duc of Guise duelling plaice, and  
 about the marches of Lorrain, and at lenth past to vedit the Duc of  
 P. 48. Lorrain at Nancy ; wher I chancit to com schortly efter in company  
 with the Duc Hans Cafymir, second sone to my Lord Electour Palatin.  
 Bot the Quen wes alrede parted fra the court of Lorrain toward Jen-  
 ville, wher I tok occasion to vedit hir Maieste, with the offer of my  
 maist humble and dewtifull seruice ; and the said Duc Cafymir vnder-  
 standing that I wes to ryd ther, did wret a very humble letter vnto hir  
 Maieste, conforting hir the best he culd, and with the offer of his ser-  
 uice, incaice any in France wald do hir wrang or injury, to bring vnto  
 hir ayd ten thowland men vpon her semple letter. Hir Maieste wes  
 mekle rejosit at this his honest offer, for euen then sche had ado with the  
 help and confort of hir frendis ; and gaif me also many thankis for the  
 opinion sche had found alwais in the court of France, of my affection

towardis hir seruice ; desyring me earnestly, when I wes to retire me out of Germany, to com hame and serue hir Maieste, with frendly and fauorable offers. Sa I returnit bak to the Duc Casymyr, wha was ther to mak a mariage with the Duc of Lorrains eldest sifter ; quhilk tok not effect, becaufe the auld dutches hir mother, who wes K. Christyarnus dochter of Denmark, gottin vpon the Emperour Charles sifter, wha also lost the kingdom of Denmark, pretending to mak it heritable, wheras it wes electywe, the said K. Christiarnus wes kept in presoun vntill his death : This dutches his dochter allegit the kingdome of Noroway appartean vnto hir as ayr vnto hir father, and that the said kingdome wes heredytair vnto hir father, albeit not Denmark ; and intendit to mary hir eldest dochter then vpon Frederik K. of Denmark, and to geue ouer with hir said dochter the kingdome of Noroway. Bot the said dutches offerit hir second dochter to the Duc Casymir, quhilk he also refusit, and delt with his father to send me in England to propon mariage for him vnto the Quen of England ; quhilk I refused to do, knawing as I beleued that sche wald never mary, vpon the conceat that I had that sche, knawing hir self vnable for succeffion, be the taill that her varlet of her chamber had tald me, I said still that sche wald not render hir self subiect till any man. The said duc wes very angry at me, becaufe I refused to pass with that commissioun.

About this tym the Cardinall of Lorrain being at Trent, tok occasion to vedit the auld Emperor Ferdynand at Yfbruck, his duelling place not far fra Trent. And ther the said Cardinall proponit tua mariages ; first, the K. of France Charles the ix, to the eldest dochter of Maximilien sone to Ferdynand, and new chosen King of Romanis and coadjutor to thempyre ; then he proponit the Quen of Scotland, dowa-



gier of France, to Charles Archeduc of Auftria, brother to the said Maximilien. The Quen wes then retournit in Scotland, and appeirantly efterwart aduertist be the said Cardinall, how he had proponit the said mariage and had gottin a gud anfuier.

P. 49. The Quen being returnit in Scotland, was glaidly welcom vnto the haill subiectis. For folowing the counsaill of hir frendis, sche behaued hir self humanly vnto them all; bot committed the cheif handling of hir affaires to hir brother the Pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, (whom efterwart sche maid Erle of Murray,) and to the secretaire Liddingtoun, as metest baith to hald the contre at hir deuotion, and also to pak vp a strait frendship between hir Maieste and the Quen of England. For my L. of Murray had gret credit with my L. Robert Dudley, wha was efterwart maid Erle of Leceister; and the secretaire Liddingtoun had gret credit with the secretaire Cicill. Sa thir four packit vp a strait and sifterly frendship between the twa Quenis and ther contrees, as aperit outwardly na mair difference in langage, bot that the Quen of England wes the eldest sifter, and the Quen of Scotland the yonger sifter, whom the Quen of England promysed to declair second persone, with tym, according to hir gud behauour; sa that lettres and intelligence past oukly be post between them, and nathing mair desyred for the first then that they mycht see vther, be a meating at a convenient place, wherby they mycht also declair ther hartly and loving myndis till vther. For the ingratitude and mishandling of our Quen be the Quen Mother of France, moued hir the mair cairfully and earnestly to mak frendship by hir, and rathest with them whom sche lyked worst; for then the house of Guise wer also be hir decourted at the estaitis of Orleans, as is spycified of before. The twa Quenis keping on this ma-



ner ther outwart frendſchip for a whyll, with the plain and honeſt menyng of our Quen, as I knew perfytlly efterwart.

Ther cam a wretting to me out of Scotland from the ſecretary Lidingtoun, be the Quenis command, willing me to be acquainted with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, yongeft brother to Maximilien, then K. of Romans, and Emperour in effect ; for themperour Ferdinand his auld father bur bot the name, be raifoun of his age. This Charles had bene proponit be the Cardinall of Lorrain for to mary the Quen our maiftres, as is els ſpecified. I wes then deſyred to knaw of his religion, of his rentis, and of his qualites, and to ſend hame word to the Quen ; as alſo of his age and ſtature, and his pictour to ſend therwith, gif it culd be poſſible ; quhilk wes thoct that I mycht eaſely knaw and obtean be the meanis of the Prince Electour Palatin my maifter, for the tym greteſt in fauour be apperance with the ſaid Maximilien.

Now my ſaid L. Electour had be auentour of his awen head, (he beand at ane imperiall convention halden in Aufbruch) aſkit at Maximilian, what wes the errand or the matter that the Cardinall of Lorrain had bene in dealing with his father Ferdinand, that tym that he cam to him out of Trent, wher the conſell wer ſittand for the tym. For the gud Elector fearit that it wes for ſome papifticall matters ; for Ferdinand wes a deuot Catholik, and Maximilien ſeamed to be a zelous proteſtant. For

P. 50. Maximilien wes bot laitly choſen King of Romanis at Franckfort, not without difficulte. Being ane of the ſeu en electours him ſelf, as King of Bohem, he had to ſut ſex electours for ther votis ; to wit, thre princes proteſtantis, the Electour Palatin, Duc of Sax, and Markiſ of Brandenburg ; and thre biſchoppes, Magonce, Triers, and Colen, catholikis. Baith thir factions wer put in hope that being Emperour, he wald

declair him self to the protestantis, efter the discesse of Ferdinand his father ; and in the mean tym vsed secret prechingis to please them. On the other part he past openly to the mess, wherby the bischoppis thocht them selues assured of him ; bot the gud Electour Palatin beleued firmly that he wald schaw him self a plain protestant efter his fathers discesse. Alwais, he wan baith the parties to becom Emperour, and tald the Electour Palatin, at the convention in Aufburgh, how that the Cardinall of Lorrain had proponit twa mariages to themperour his father. The ane wes Charles the yong K. of France, to Maximiliens eldest dochter ; the other wes the Quen of Scotland douagier of France, to his brother the Archeduc Charles. The Electour inquired how he lyked of the twa mariages. He said, he culd not bot lyk weill of them ; seing he culd not get a better matche to his dochter then the K. of France, nor to his brother then the Quen of Scotland, douagier of France, and as the Cardinall allegit, to haue rycht also to the crown of England. The Electour said, sen that he lykit weill of his brothers mariage with the Quen of Scotland, that he had a Scottisch gentelman with him, wha culd schaw him perfyty of that richt and of the estaitis of England and Scotland, and culd be a gud instrument to bring fordwart the said mariage.

Wherupon Maximilien desyred to speak with me ; and because I was absent in the contre of Hesse for the tym, to send me vnto him at my retournyng ; quhilk the gud Electour did, and send with me ane of his confell, callit Mons<sup>r</sup> Zuleger, geving us together a commission to deall for Vlrich Fouker, wardit be his awen frendis because of his extraordinair magnificence, quhilk they allegit to be waisting prodigalite ; and he again allegit that they did it because he wes a pro-

testant. When we had vfed our conjunct commiffion, Zuleger my compaignion tald his Maieſte, that I had a particulaire commiffion, and ſa retirit him and left me alane in the chamber ; wher I preſentit a letter vnto his Maieſte, wreten with the electours awen hand in Dutche, declaring how I wes the Scottiſch gentilman whom he promysed to ſend. Sa his Maieſte, eſter that he had red the wreting, ſchaw me the part wher the Electour aſſured hym that I wald ſchaw him the treuth of all ſic thingis as I knew that he wald ſpeir at me ; and ſaid, “ Ye are mekle behalden to the Electour Palatin, for he hes inſourmed me weall of yow ; I prey yow tell me how lang haue ye remanit in his company.” I ſaid, thre yeires and mair. He inquired why I maid not anſwer in Dutche ; I ſaid, becauſe I had the Frenche mair famyliar, and knew that na language culd com wrang to his Maieſte ; indeid he culd alſo ſpeak gud Latin, Ytalien, Eſpaignoll,

P. 51. Sclavon, and Frenche. Then he inquired again in French, how I cam to the Electour Palatin. I ſaid, that being brocht vp in the court of France, with the Conſtable, at what tym ther fell out ſome variance betwen France and Scotland, partly for religion myxt with ſome vther particulartez, wherof procedit a miſlyking of ſamany Scotis men as wer for the tym in France ; that ſome Scotis men wer wardit vpon ſuſpition, and ſome wer loked down vpon ; quhilk mouit me to tak the occaſion to veſit vther contrees, quhilk I had deliberat to do lang of before ; and mynding to begin in Dutchelend, the Conſtable of France addreſſit me to the Electour Palatin be his fauorable wreting. He inquired how lang I had remanit with the Conſtable ; I ſaid, nyn yeiris. Then he ſaid, that I was happy to haue bene ſa lang in company with the twa wyſeſt in Europe, and that he was glaid to be acquainted with me ; and began to ſchaw me the cauſe why he deſyred to ſpeak with

me ; inquiring of the estait of Scotland, of ther lait troubles with France, of the agrement new maid, and fen the agrement what gret men had the grettest handling, and all the noblemens names that had afflitte baith the parties ; and procedit to inquyre of the help that England had maid vnto Scotland, during ther troubles with France ; gif they wer bandit together, and gene ther frendship continowed ; and of the Quenis rycht to England, and gif the nobilite of Scotland wald be glaid to set fordwart ther Quen vnto the crown of England ; and gene they wald think it a weall vnto the crown of Scotland, to haue the twa contrees junit tother, supposing ther Quen or Prince wald ratherest duell in the best contre, and wald be that way farther fra them. Thir and many vther thingis he inquyred ; to the quhilkis I anfuerit the best I culd. Then he said, it wes not the least gud office that my Lord Electour had done vnto hym, in sending me ther ; and thankit me also for the panes I had tane, and said, gif Charles his brother chan- cit to be sa happy as till obtan our Quen in mariage, that na man fuld haue mair credit with him then I ; willing me to abyd with him a whyll, that he mycht discours with me at mair lenth. Sa eftir that I had taried with hym xv dayes, with fauorable and humain enter- tenement when his leasor wald permit, putting me in hope that Charles wald be schortly at hym, and tald me sic newes as cam till hym out of all contrees ; specially of the death of the Duc of Guise be Poltrot at the seage of Orleans, and apperit to be glaid of the death of that vailgeant variour. I culd not juge for the tym what moued him.

Efterwart be oft conference with hym, I persauit and suspected that he wald be found ennemy to the mariage of his brother with the Quen ; and to get some tryall therof, I requestit my compaignon Mons<sup>r</sup> Zuleger, to

drink him felf mery with fome of his fecretaires, and then to caft in the purpos of the mariage of Duc Charles with the Quen of Scotland, whither it was defyred and lyked by Maximilien or not. The faid fecretaire fchew hym, how that he was againft any fa gret preferrement to his brother, wherby he mycht becom King of Scotland and England baith ; be raifoun of a mint that themperour Charles 5. maid anes, to devyd his dominions amang the thre fonnes of Ferdinand his brother, failgeing aires of K. Phillip his fone ; wha then had bot a fone, to wit Don Carle, feakly of complexin, whom he efterwart flew fecretly in prifoun hym felf, fufpecting him to be of the reformed religion and having  
P. 52. intelligence with the princes of Flanders that profellit the fame ; and Maximilien hoped to fucced to the haille, failgeing aires of the faid K. Philipe, as having married the faid Philips fifter, and had many children of his awen with hir, who he defyrit to be preferrit rather then his awen brother. For incaice the Archeduc Charles had bene K. of Scotland and England, he mycht the better vfurp the Law Contres, vpon the allegiance of fome auld rycht.

Eftir that I vnderftod this I wald tary na langer, bot preffit daly to return towardis my L. Electour ; and he again to ftay me befyd him, feamed that he wuld fayn haue reteanit me in his fervice ; at lenth willit me to tary bot a half year ; bot humbly excufing my felf, for that I wes fend for to be fchortly in Scotland ; quhilk moued hym the mair ernestly to defyre me to tary with hym. Quhilk becaufe I wald not grant to do, I thoct he was difcontent ; and a nycht lait efter fupper, he parted in a boit towardis the town of Lintis, and fend his fecretary vnto me, excufing him that he mycht not meit with me before his parting, for he had ane neceffary occafion ; and feing I was to return

in Scotland, he had wreten a letter to the Quen in my fauours and commendation, quhilk the secretaire delyuerit vnto me. I tald the secretaire that I had not yet sean Italy, and that I was purposed first to se Venise, Rome, and sic thingis as wer to be sean ther, before my retournyng in Scotland, and refused the said letter at the first. He said, "Ther is na danger how lang it be on delyuerit, nathing contenit therin bot concernyng your self." The toun of Aufburgh being the neresst part of Germany towardis Venise, I agreid with Mons<sup>r</sup> Zuleger to retourn towardis my L. Electour; and I tok my journey to Venise and Rome, and cam bak throw all the fairest townis, and throw the Swissers land till Heidilberg, wher the Prince Electour held his court.

I haue said heir abone how that the Duc of Guise wes slain be Poltrot during the seige of Orleans, efter the battaill of Drues; in the quhilk baith the chiftanis war tane, the Prince of Conde for them of the religion, and the Constable for the K. The Quen mother maid the paice incontinent between the parties, against the mynd of Madame de Guise, wha requested hir not to mak the paice sa sodanly, for then it wald be thocht that the Duc of Guise had bene the only cause of the warres. The Quen mother past fordwart nevertheles with the paice, chenging the Prince of Conde for the Constable, making them baith gud instrumentis of the agreement. The paice being maid, the Quen mother maid moyen for a wyf to hir sone K. Charles, and for that effect send vnto the Prince Palatin, a secretery callit Monsieur Mylot; schawing vnto hym how that the King hir sone had apprehendit earnestly the mariage of Maximiliens eldest dochter; willing him as a trusty frend, of his awen head to propone the matter as a stedable allyance for the weill of the empyre; and to send hir his apperance, and



the yong prences picture, quhilk ſche thocht meit to be done before ſche wald proceed mair publykly, for ſome raifones that ſche had for hir ; quhilk he did very diligently, and ſend me in France with the anſwer and pictour, with a congratulation of the lait maid paice.

- P. 53. At my commyng to the court of France, quhilk wes at Paris for the tym, the Conſtable wald nedis be my convoy to the yong K. and Quen mother; wha had a miſlyking of the ſaid Conſtable for the tym, as having brocht in the Admyrall to Paris againſt hir will ; wha was acufit to haue promyſed reward vnto the foirſaid Poltrot for to ſley the Duc of Guife. The Admyrall again deſyred to com before the preuy conſaill, till purge him ſelf and to be tryed ; bot the Quen mother deſyred rather ther hattrent and contention to continow, as having layed hir plat till ſytche hir gretnes in the dromely pondes of ther ſtryf, as was manifeſtly ſean ſen ſyn. For during ther deuyſion, the Duc of Guife, K. of Navar, Prince of Conde, Conſtable, Marchall of St Andre, with the maiſt notable gret men of France, wer all ſlain down ; and becauſe the ſaid Admyrall eſchaipit during the warres, the paice was maid for the thrid tym ; and vnder traift, at the mariage of the yong Prince or K. of Navar, now K. of France, the ſaid Admyrall was murdrift, with all that reſted of the worthyeſt noblemen and captens of France.

To return vnto the purpos ; the Conſtable and Admyrall wer at court at that tym againſt the Quen mothers will ; wher the Admyrall wes declairit innocent of the Duc of Guife ſlauchter. And at that tym the Conſtable determinit to abyd at court, and till mantean him ſelf ther in his office of Gret Maifter, and be the autorite of his gret office of the conſtablerie, aſſiſted be the force of his frendis ; for he vnderſtod ſufficiently the Quen mothers Italien trickis. Therefore he to won credit



presented me to the yong King, and sat down vpon a stull besyd him and the Quen his mother, and held his bonet vpon his head, taking vpon him the full autorite of his gret office ; to the Quen mothers gret mislyking, with sic impaciencie that sche turnt away hir faice when I wes declairen my commission, efter the delyuerie of my lettres of credence to the K. and hir. Quhilk the K. wes very glaid to heir, being therby put in hope that the mariage wald tak effect, and wes sa defyrous to se the picture of that lusty yong princefs, that he cutted the thredis him self that band on the waxit claith about the said picture. And I in the mean tym reterit me fourth of the chamber, and was earnestly socht that after nun, bot not found vntill the Constable and Admyrell cam to ther chamber at euen. Wha requyring to wit the cause of my retering, I remembrit the Constable how he mycht see the rage that the Quen mother was intill ; and how I again stod vpon the reputation of my maister, wha was a fre prince. Then they wer glaid, and said that I had done weill, and schew me how they wer the cause ; and that sche had maid a proclamation, that na ambassador suld adress them bot vnto the K., and hir as Regent ; therefore aduyfit me to pass the nyxt day to see hir at denner, and that sche wald not fail to call for me, and inquyre the cause of my absenting before I had tald out my haill commission ; and instructed me what I suld say for answer. Sa schone as hir Maieste saw me, sche send and desyred me to stay ther till sche had dynet, and that sche suld send for the K. hir sone to com to hir chamber, to heir out the rest of my commission. The K. being com, the chamber wes yssched.

P. 54. Hir Maieste first inquyred, why I tald not out the rest of my commission the day before. I answerit, as I was instructed, how

that it apperit to me, that for the tym fche had na will of fa many auditours, and that I fteyed vpon hir better opportunitie. Quhilk anfwer fche feamed to tak in a gud part, willing me when at any tym I mycht be fent again, to addreis my felf only to the K. and to hir, and to nane vther. To that I anfwerit, that amang all the Kingis faruandis I was beft acquainted with the Conftable, and therefore maid him my convoy to baith ther Maiefteis. “Na,” faid fche, “I find na falt that ye addrefsit yow to my gud goffup;” bot fche hatted hym deadly. Sa efter that I had endit the declaration of my hail commiffion, firft anent the congratulation of the paice, and excufes of the confederat princes of thempyre for fending help to the Prince of Conde, during the warres for the religion, with a request to kepe the faid paice vnviolat, and till mak fic lawes of obliuion as wer wont to do the Grekis and Romanis efter fic ciuill difcenfions; and then how that my lord Electour had procedit with Maximilien, and how his anfwer was at wiffis. All the tym that I fpak, fche remembrit the K. to tak gud head, and faid he was mekle oblift to that gud prence that tok fic panes for his mariage, and for the weall of his affaires.

Then fche entrit with me in particulair, eftemyng that I wald not fpend ouer mekle tym in Dutchemland, feing that I was firft brocht vp in the court of France; for albeit, fche faid, fche had anew that culd fpeak Dutche, yet few wer fa famylierly acquainted with the princis of thempyre, or that had fic fauour and credit as fche vnderftod I had, to do the K. and hir feruice; therfor offerit to mak me gentilman of the Kingis chamber, prouydit with ane honorable penfion, and to be aduancit till offices and honnours as gene I wer a Frencheman born; and that fche wald employ me not only in Germany, bot alfo in England and Flanders.

I thocht her Maieſteis offers very acceptable ; bot in the mean tym that I was awaiting vpon my diſpaſche, the Admyralis death was conſpyred be the brether and frendis of the Duc of Guiſe, to be executed be capten Charry, in greteſt fauour with the Quen mother as cheif capten of hir garde ouer vi hundreth hacbuters, Gaſcons choſen out of his regiment, by the ordinary gard. The ſaid enterpryſe being diſcouerit to the Conſtable be the auld Dutches of Ferrar, dochter to K. Louys the xij., mother to the Dutches of Guiſe wydow, the Conſtable paſt to his houſe 4 legues fra Paris ; and the nyxt day efter, the ſaid Capten Charry was ſlain vpon the caſſay of Paris, be Mons<sup>r</sup> Chattelier thadmyralis friend, quhilk pat the Quen and all the court in ane fear and firme oppinion, that the dede was done be the Conſtable and Admyralis direction. Bot the Admyrall purgit him ſelf. The Conſtable was ſend for, and many requeſtis maid vnto hym to ſattill and eſtabliſ quyetnes in the court and town.

P. 55. Being yet at Paris on diſpatched, I raſauit wretingis to com in Scotland, directed by my lordis of Murray and Liddingtoun, at the Quenis Maieſteis command, to be employed in ſome of her hyenes affaires of conſequence, quhilk I vnderſtod to be anent hir Maieſteis mariage. Wherupon I tok deliberation, at my retournyng in Germany, to mak a voyage in Scotland ; far againſt the oppinion of the Conſtable, the Admyrall and the Prince Palatin ; bot his ſone the Duc Caſimir tok occaſion to deſyre me till preſent his picture to the Quen of England. I haue ſaid alredy how that he was angry at me, becauſe I reſused to be ſent in England till propon his mariage to that Quen ; being perſuadit thertu be the Vydam of Charters, laity com ther from the court of England ; wha thocht him ſelf

sa famylier with the said Quen, that he send a gentilman Italien of his to propon that mariage, as he allegit, at the instance of the Electour Palatin. To whom the Quen gaif a generall alluring answer, desyring the yong prince to com in England, eyther openly or prevely disgyfed ; and how that sche wald never mary any man till sche mycht first see him. Still I dissuadit his father to send hym, alleging that it wald be gret chargeis to him, and get nathing bot scorn for recompence ; wherat the yong prince was sa commoved that he left the court for thre dayes. Bot the gud prince his father send for him, and boisted him, incaice he becam not my frend. Sa we wer agreid that at this tym I shuld cary with me his picture, and present it to the Quen of England in my hame passing throw England, seing that I was sa far against his gang-ing ther ; whilk I was content to do, prouyding that I mycht also haue hame with me the picture of his father, his mother, and of all the rest of his brether and sisters, together with a famylier wreting from the Electour, wherby I mycht haue the better occasion and acces to bring in the purpos of the pictures as be accident ; hoping that sche wald desyre to see them, specially the pictour of the said yong Duc.

And having obtenit my desyre, I tok my leaue and parted from Heidil-berg, wher my gud lord Electour held his court for the tim ; wha gaif me commission to the Quen of England, to wit, ane answer to hir demandit allyance offensyve and deffensyve with the princes protestantis of Germany ; quhilk of before was bot obscurely answerit vnto hir ambassadour Sir Hery Knollis, at the dyet imperiall halden at Franckfort the year 1562 ; excusing him self and the rest of the princes his confideratis, wha had bot new chofen Maximilien to be K. of Romans, and coadjutor to themperour his father ; and that he had promysed vnto

them to schew him self a plane protestant, sa schone as he durst efter the discese of his auld father Ferdinand ; and in the mean tym, had ther promyse to kepe correspondance with him, and to mak na band with any forrene prince, by his consent and knowlege ; quhilk gene they did, he mycht perchance tak occasion therupon to lay the wyet on them, incaice he did not as he had promyted. For they began to fear and dout of his vprycht meanyng anent the religion, and yet thocht not meit to mak him any occasion for ther part ; bot incaice he kepit not his promyse efter the discese of Ferdinand, they suld then planly band, and mak sic allyance with hir as sche had requyred ; quhilk they durst not for the tym discouer vnto hir ambassadour ; requesting hir Maieste yet to kepe this secreet vnto hir self.

P. 56. This excuse sche seamed to tak in a gud part, and promyted to discouer it to nane of hir confaill ; bot sche lamented that the princes of Germany wer sa slaw and langsome in all ther deliberations. Wherupon again I began till prayse them for ther treuth, constancy, religion, ordour, and quik execution eftir they had concludit any wechty matter ; bot I set out maist specially the Electour Palatin his humanite, his trating of strangers, vphalding of vniversites ; and how he was the mouth of his confideratis, to deall with all vther prencis nybours. Sche said that I had raisoun to speak sa of him, for he had wreten very far in my fauour, and how that he wald fayn haue retenit me langer with hym. I schew again how laith I was to leaue him ; and for to haue the better remembrance of hym, I desyred to cary hame with me his picture, and the pictures of his wyf and all his sones and dochters. Sa schone as sche hard of the pictures, sche failed not till inquiryre gif I had the picture of the Duc Hans Casymir, and desyred very earnestly

to fe it ; and when I allegit that I had left the faidis pictures at Londoun, fche being then at Hamtoncourt ten mylles fra Londoun, and that I wes redy to pafs fordwart, fche faid I fuld not part till fche had fean the haill pictures. Sa the nyxt day I delyuerit them all vnto hir Maiefte, and fche defyred to retean them all nycht ; bot fche tok my L. Robert Dudley to be juge of the Duc Cafymirs picture, and aponted me to meit hir the nyxt mornynge in hir garding ; wher fche caufed delyuer them all vnto me, and gaif me thankis for the ficht of them. I again offerit vnto hir Maiefte any of the pictures, fa fche wald let me haue the auld Electour and his lady ; bot fche wald haue nane of them. I had alfo intelligence how firft and laft fche difpyfed the faid Duc Cafymir. Therefore I wret bak from Londoun in chiffer, to his father and him felf baith, diffluading them to medle any mair in that mariage ; and refautit gret thankis efterwart fra the faid yong Duc, wha married incontinent the Duc Auguft Electour of Sax his eldeft dochter.

Albeit this is fomthing by the purpos that I wes wreten anent the Quen our fouerain, yet it bringis me hame vntill hir Maiefte, with fom purpos of mariage to hir felf. For the Quen of England enterit with me very famylierly, and fchew me of the fisterly love that was between hir and the Quen my fouerain ; and how cairfull fche was of hir weillfare, and to fe hir weall fattelit in hir awen contre with hir fubiectis, and alfo weill married ; and how that fche had in hir head twa perfones to propone, any ane of the twa, for fitteft husbandis vnto hir, wherby ther amytie mycht beft ftand and increafe ; hopping that fche wald alwayes mary be hir aduylfe, for hir weall ; promyfen vpon hir faith to wret vnto me with hir awen hand, fchortly efter my hame-



commynge in Scotland, that I mycht be a gud instrument to moue the Quen my mestres till accept other the ane or the other. Albeit sche forget to wret vnto me theranent, sche fend instructions vnto Mester Randolph, till propon my L. Robert Dudley as a meit hufband for our Quen. I suppone that my Lord Robert Dudley, efterwart Erle of Lecester, had dissuadit hir to employ me in his mariage with the Quen my souerane, feing that Mester Randolphe was ther alredy hir Hynes agent.

P. 57. Now the Quen my maitres, to kep promyse and correspondence with the Quen of England, had fend and aduertist hir, how that the mariage with Archeduc Charles was proponit vnto hir; requyring hir frendly aduys and consent therto.

The Quen of England answerit, be hir agent Mester Thomas Randolphe, as folowes. Efter a litle preface this he declaires, and geues in be wret, the Quen his mestres mynd.

“The Quen my souerane,” said he, “hes not only deaply aduysed vpon the matter anent the mariage of your Maieste, bot hes also thocht it necessary now by me, to schaw yow what sche thinketh baith meit and vnmeit to be confiderit, and seemly for hir be way of frendship to declair, as a dear sifter that intendis your Maiesteis honnour, and a loving frend that is cairfull for your Graces weall.

“Thre speciall thingis hir Grace thinkis fit to be confiderit in mariage. First, the mutuell contentation between baith parties, in respect of ther priuat personages, sa that the loue may probably continow, asweill before God as man.

“Secondly, that the personage may be such as your Maieste, being



a Quen of a gret realm and multitude of people, may be fure of ane vnfengeit allyance, be your nobilite realm and commouns.

“Thridly, that the chuse be futch, that the amytye quhilk is now fastrait betwix the Quenis Maieſte and your Hynes, not only for your awen perſonnes bot with boith your realmes, may be continuat and not defoluit nor difminiſſit.”

Then he delaitis at lenth, how that he dows not bot hir Maieſte, wha was anes maried, will confideratly wey the match to be very meit boith for hir and hir awen ſubiectis; bot anent the thrid head, that belanges vnto the Quen his ſouerane, it meritis to be weall looked vpon.

“It is trew that the ſeaking out of a huſband to your Maieſte is honorable and expedient; a thing that hir Maieſte lykes weall of in your Grace, albeit hitherto ſche has not found ſuch diſpoſition in hir ſelf; remitting hir hart and mynd in that behalf to be directed be almychty God.

“Bot this heirin hir Maieſte confidereth, that to ſeak out ſuch a huſband as is weall knawen to hir, is ſocht be your Gracis frendis in themperours lineage, moſt bring a maniſeſt danger vnto the pryvat amytye betwix your Maieſties; ane apperant occaſion to deſolue the concord that is preſently betwix the twa nations; and thridly, ane interruption of ſuche a courſe as vtherwais mycht be taken, to forther or advance ſuche a tytyle as your Grace mycht haue to ſucceed vnto hir Maieſte in the crown of England, gif hir Grace ſuld depart without yſſue of hir body.”

Then he uſes ſome vnfit perſuaſions and menaces; as boiſting how that ſome in England ar going about, with practyſes to ſet fordwart

ther pretendit richtis, to hir Maieſteis prejudice ; quhilk ſche, be hir diſcret behauour and confourmitie to his meſtres pleaſure may preuent, “ in moving hir not only to proceed in the inquiſition of your G. richt, and to further the ſame at hir power, bot alſo to hender and empeſche that quhilk ſhall ſeem to the contraire.

“ And now gif your Maieſte wald knaw, what kind of mariage mycht beſt content hir and hir realm. Such a one as may bred na je-louſie nor trouble betwix your Maieſties and your countreſſes, as did the mariage with the Frenche King ; bot rather it is to be wiſſit, that ther mycht be found out ſome noble man of gret birthe within England, that mycht be agreeable vnto you, with whom hir Maieſte wald more  
 P. 58. redely and more eaſely extend and declair the gud will that hir Maieſte has, to cauſe you enjoye before any creature any thing ſche hes, nyxt hir ſelf or childrene. Vtherwaies I moſt plainly ſay, that my ſouerane can promyſe nothing agreeable to the feruent deſyre ſche hath to do your G. gud.”

This was Maſter Randolphes firſt inſtructions and propoſition vnto the Quen, anent hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles. Bot he had a ſecret commiſſion vnto my L. of Murray, and the ſecretair Liddington, to propon my Lord Robert Dudley ; and willit me alſo to ſet forward his mariage with the Quen, as meſteſt of all vther ; as ſhalbe declared mair amply hereafter.

Be this kynd of dealing it apperis weall, how that the Quen of England miſtyked the mariage of the Quen with the Archeduc Charles ; and gaue farther declaration be ſending of the Erle of Suffex to their court, alweill to congratulat his coronation, as indirectly to draw on the mariage between the ſaid Charles and his maſtres the

Quen of England ; and brocht that matter fa fynly about, that Charles thocht the mariage with the Quen of England meter, and was put in gret hope that it fuld tak effect. Yit it was not fa secretly handled bot our Quen was aduertist thereof, be some of hir weill willairs in England ; wherupon procedit inwart greffis and gruges between the twa Quenis ; quhilk bursted out at a litle occasion geuen be the Quen of England, in hir first famylier wreting vnto the Quen, appering therby to geue her a frendly aduyse on the auld maner ; quhilk the Quen again thocht bot a double dealing, remembring afweill vpon hir lait diffwading answer from the mariage of the Archeduc Charles, as vpon hir practyses newly parfourned in themperours court. The Quen of Englandis letter was wreten at the sut of some of the frendis of the house of Hammiltoun. For efter that mester Randolph had spoken, as is abone mentionat, against the mariage of the Quen with the Duc Charles, and had allegit that some nobleman born within England wald be meter ; he procedit sa far, in preuy conference with my L. of Murray and the secretery Liddingtoun, as to say, “ What wald ye think of my L. Robert Dudley for your Quen ? ” And finding finall accompt to be maid therof, aduertist the Quen his mestres. Wherupon occasion wes tane to geue leaue vnto Mathow Erle of Lenox, wha dwelt in England for the tym, to pass in Scotland as desyrous to se the Quen, and tak ordour with some of his awen turnis ; whais eldest sone my Lord Darly was a lusty yong prince, and apperantly was ane of the twa that the Quen of England had tald me sche had in hir head till offer vnto our Quen, as born within the realm of England.

To return vnto the letter wretin be the Quen of England vnto the Quen ; sche wald appear therby to be cairfull for the Quen hir festers

quyet estait and gouvernement ; willing hir to tak head that in schawing  
plefour to the Erle of Lenox, not to displease nane of the house of Ham-  
miltoun, wherby trouble and stryf in hir contre mycht aryse ; quhilk  
sche allegit to do vpon some brutis that sche had hard ; with findre  
vther sic purposes, that somtymes wald not haue bene tane in ane euell  
part. Bot now euery aduise geuen be the Quen of England was euell  
P. 59. interpret, partly for her proceedingis to the hendrance of the mariage  
with Charles, and partly because that Seigneur Dauid, now enterit to be  
hir Hynes Frenche secretary, was not very skilfull in dyting of French  
lettres quhilk sche did not wret ouer again with hir awen hand ; for  
then baith the Quenis wret till vther in Frenche with ther awen handis.  
The answer then that the Quen wret vnto the said letter, declaired some  
suspition and anger to haue bene tane, in bursting out with some  
speeches, that it was thocht be the Quen of England as an vpgeuing of  
the famyliarite and sisterly correspondance that had bene kepit sen the  
Quenis retournyng hame out of France. Wherupon sa gret a cauldnes  
grew, that they left aff baith fra wretting till vther, as they used to do  
euery owk, be the postis that passit between ther courtis and Barwick ;  
letting a 2. monethes pass by before that the Quen my mestres tok pur-  
pos to send me vnto the Quen of England, to renew ther outward friend-  
ship ; for in ther hartis, fra that tym fourth, ther was nathing bot ge-  
loufies and suspitions. The Quen my maistres thocht that gif ther dis-  
cord continowed, it wald cut aff all intelligence between hir and a nom-  
ber of gud frendis that sche had in England ; and that Quen had na  
will of warres, bot desyred be all meanis possible till eshew commer or  
any occasion of expensis ; the King of Spain and sche being already

entrit in controverfy, and lyk to tak findre courfes, for the troubles and rebellion of Flanders and the Law Contrees ; eftemyng hir a fecret fterer vp of them, not without caufe ; for fche thocht hir felf abandonit be the K. of Spain, at the lait paice maid at Catteau Cambrifis ; and hir cheifeft confaillouris thocht convenient for the eftait of England to fofter and nurife contrary factions, baith in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spayn.

At my hamecommynng in Scotland, I fand the Quenis Maiefte at Sant Jhonftoun, in the year of God 1564. the 5. day of May, and was very fauourably refautit be the Quenis Maiefte ; when I prefented vnto hir Hynes, wretngis from themperour Maximilien, the Electour Palatin, the Duc of Lorrain, the Cardinall of Lorrain, and Duc of Aumall, all in my fauours. And efter I had infourmed hir at lenth how Maximilien was againft the mariage of his brother Charles, fche vnderftanding alfo the Quen of Englandis part therintill, as is abone fpecified, fche pat the mariage with Archeduc Charles clean out of hir conceat. And wheras fche had bene myndit to fend me in Germany, now fche tok purpos to fend me in England ; at what tym I was not yet refoluit to fetle my felf in Scotland, feing apperance of fmall commodite, and of greter troubles and difordour then I beleuit to find at my hamecommynng ; and was laith to loife the occafions and offers of preferrement that had bene maid to me in France and vther partis. Bot the Quen

P. 60. my fouerane was fa infant, and fa weill inclynit, and fchew hir felf endewed with fa many princely vertus, that I thocht it wald be againft gud confcience to leawe hir, requyring fa ernestly my help and feruice to draw hame again ay mair and mair the hartis of hir fubiectis, that

had strayed and wer growen cauld during the lait troubles the quhill that sche was absent in France, and wer junit in a gret frendſchip with England ; wherin sche had alſo gret handling for the tym, to won frendis and kepe correſpondance with that Quen. Then ſche was ſa effable, ſa gracious and diſcret, that ſche wan gret eſtymation, and the hartis of many baith in England and Scotland, and myn among the reſt ; ſa that I thoct her mair worthy to be ſeruit for litle proffet, then any vther prence in Europe for gret commodite. Then ſche was naturally liberall, mair than ſche had moyen ; for not only provydit ſche me with a penſion of ane thowſand markis, ane part of the ſame to be tane out of hir drowry in France, bot ſche wald alſo haue geuen me in heritage the landis of Auchtermouchtie beſyd Facland ; quhilk I refuſed, alleging the ſame to be the nereſt part of hir propertie, quhilk ſche mycht not weall want. Bot another, hearen that ſche was ſa weill harted, ſocht it and gat it.

This way I was vincuſt and won to tary with hir, and to leawe all vthir profitis or preferrement in France and vther contrees, albeit that for the tym I had na vthir heritage bot my ſeruice. Sa about 2. or 3. monethes efter my hame commyng, I wes ſent to the Quen of England, with thir inſtructions folowing, out of hir Maieſteis awen mouth ; to deall with the Quen of England, with the Spaniſch ambaffadour, and with my Lady Margret Douglas, and with ſindre frendis ſche had in England of dyuers oppinions ; and generall inſtructions wreten be the ſecretaire Liddingtoun, ſubſcryuit with hir Maieſteis hand, as foloues.



“ Instructions to our famylier seruitour James Meluill, presently directed to our derrest sifter the Quen of England. At Edenbrough the 28. of September 1564.

“ In the first, efter that ye haue presented our lettres, and maid our commendations in maist hartly maner, ye fall declair vnto our gud sifter, that having bene in our progres towardis the nourthemest partis of our realm thir tua monethes, during the quhilk tym we haue had nether lettres nor vthir aduertifment from our said gud sifter, for continowation of the mutuell intelligence betuix us be all gud offices of amytie, we tok purpos to direct yow towardis hir, to vefit hir vpon our behalf, to lat hir know our health and gud estait, and also at your return, be able to report the lyk of hir vnto us ; being the persoun in the world to whom nyxt our self, we wisf maist gud luk and prosperite.

“ Item, that by lettres of my Lord Robert to Liddingtoun, as also of her secretery to our brother of Murray, and siclyk to Liddingtoun, we haue persauit that our said gud sifter findis some falt with our lettres, wreten to hir for answer of hers in the Earle of Lenox matter, as gif we had taken her motion therin in euell part. We are maist fory that our lettres hes bene sa interpreted, sa far as concernis to our meanyng. For of treuth we had na vthir oppinion of hir in that matter, bot that hir aduertifment cam from a frendly mynd, and was baith worthy of thankis, and to be answerit with the lyk gud will ; as we beleue we did in our lettre, albeit we remember not presently the very wordis or substance therof. For we vse not to referue any copie of our famylier lettres wreten with our awen hand, quhilk now we repent of that lettre ; for gene we had ane copie of it, we mycht now clear our self of



p. 61. that dout, what wordes they wer therein mycht any wife lean to tend to hir offence. Therefore ye fall prey hir in our name, to let you see in her letter what wordis they ar wherof sche conceaues offence ; that ye declaring thereupon my part and meanyng, may put hir out of any sic suspition. Treuth it is, at the resait of the letter we wer not a little offendit, and thocht we had gud cause. It apperit no les then that our nobilite wes so greuit with our licence granted to the Erle of Lenox, that his commyng wes lyk to disturb the quyetnes of our realin. Our brother of Murray and Liddingtoun schew vnto vs, that they perceaued by her secretarys lettres, that they wer also thocht as parties in this matter ; and that they mislyking also his commyng, desyred the stay therof to be procured by tha indicient meanis, wherof they protestit vnto us the plat contraire. And indeid we haue better proof of ther fidelite towardis vs, then that we can suspect any sic double dealing in ther handis, they being sa far oblist vnto vs. and sa neir about vs. We thocht vs litle addetted vnto that persone, whom-soeuer he wes, maid sic report of our subiectis, that they wald mak ther doleancis till any vther then our self ; specially in a matter wherein no man culd be tuiched to his displeasour.

“ Thir and the lyk considerations mouit vs to a gret choler ; quhilk mycht haue bene occasion that we wret the more frelye, and wes not curious to couer our passions ; wretting to hir with whom we esteam vs sa famylier, that sche wald tak all in gud part that procedis from vs ; specially that tendis not to hir offence, as trewly never word of that lettre was menit by vs. Therefore ye fall prey hir to put away all sic oppinions, gif sche has conceaut any ; and gif ther be any word in our letter hauyng twa senses, by myfconstruyng or taking in

the worst part may geue hir occasion of offence, that sche will rather interpret the same to the gentillest signification, and not cryminallie ; and then I dout not bot the haill letter shall appeir to hir, as it wes by vs conceaut and directed ; that is, from a dear frend to another.

“ Farder of our mynd ye haue conceaut, by that we haid said vnto you be mouth ; quhilk ye mon enlarge as occasion requyres.

“ Ye may weall, be any vther talk that sche shall minister vnto you, answer conform to the substance of Liddingtons lettres, wreten to my L. Robert and Mester Cicill, to draw on specially another meting of men of credit, fullie instructed with baith our myndis ; and to deall fa planly and franckly as all suspitions, driftis and eylestis may haue ane end.

“ Ye mon also inquiryre diligently of the parlement, at all them that can geue you knowlege therof ; for what cause it is callit, what is to be treited in it, how lang it will last ; and gif ye may learn any thing to be handled therin tueching vs, ye shall say as of your awen head, that your mestres will not beleue that sche will suffer any thing to be trait-ed therin, that may directly or indirectly tend to our prejudice, we not being by hir foirwarnit therof. Sche knawes that alweill our self as our ministers, whom we haue at any tym directed in tha partis, hes euer dependit vpon hir only aduyle, and folowed the samyn in all pointis ; and that sen it was the speciall matter that was moued in the begynnyng of the last parlement, the establisshing of the succeßioun, and lyk enough the subiectis will yet be earnest to be at ane certantie in that point ; gif sche omitis sa gud ane occasion to do something for vs, wherby the world may vnderstand that sche vles vs and esteemes vs as hir nyxt cusing and only sifter, the world will think that hir amytie is

not fa gret as we tuk it to be ; and them that envyes our familiarite, and wald haue it broken, will conceaue matter to fpeak that the frend-fchip is rather in wordis then in effect.

“ MARIE R.”

P. 62. Being arriuit at Londoun, I tok loging neir the court, quhilk wes at Westmeſter. Incontinent my hoſt aduertit of my commyng, and that fame nycht hir Maieſte ſent Maſter Lattoun, now gouernour of the Yll of Weicht, to welcom me in hir name, and to ſchaw me that the nyxt mornyng ſche ſuld be in hir garding be aucht houres, to geue me audience ; for ſche wes aduertit from the Erle of Bedford, gouernour of Berwik, that I was be the way. That fame nycht, Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, one of my auld and dereſt frendis be lang acquaintance, firſt during his baniſſement in France in the regne of Quen Marie, and efterwart being ambaffadour in France for this Quen, wher I was for the tym yet very yong, penſioner to the King Henry II., and ſaruant to the conſtable his cheif conſaillour : This Sir Nycholas was not only my dear frend, wha had procured a penſion for me fra his meſtres, to help to enterdeny me, (when I was willingly baniſſit from the court of France, ſa lang as ther wes ciuill warres between France and Scotland, during the quhilk tym I remanit in Germany :) The ſaid Sir Nycholas being for the tym at court, cam and fouped with me that fame nycht ; wha was alſo a deuot frend to the Quen my meſtres, and to hir richt and title to the ſucceſſion of the crown of England. Be him I had ample and famylier infourmation, and ſur intelligence and frendly aduiſe, how to proceed with the Quen and euery courteour in particulier ; for he wes a gret inſtrument to

help my L. of Murray and secretery Liddingtoun, to pak vp the first frendship and correſpondance between the twa Quenis, and between the Erle of Murray and my L. Robert, and between the twa ſecretaires. Albeit he had na lyking for the tym, nother of my L. Robert, nor of Meſter Cicill, yet he knew that then nathing culd be done without them. Amang vther thingis, he gaif me aduſe to vſe gret famylarite with the ambaffadour of Spain, in caice I fand the Quen his maiſtres our hard and diffieill; alleging that it wald be a gret ſpüre to moue the Quen of England, to geue our Quen a greter contentement in hir deſyres then ſhe had yet done.

The nyxt mornyng. Maiſter Lattoun and Meſter Randolphe, lait agent for the Quen of England in Scotland, cam to my logging to conuoy me to hir Maieſte, wha wes as they ſaid alredy in the garding; and with them a ſeruand of my L. Robertis, with a horſe and futmantill of veluet paſſemented with gold, for me to ryd vpon; quhilk ſeruand with the ſaid horſe awaited vpon me all the tym that I remanit ther. I fand her Maieſte ſpacing in ane alley; wher efter that I had kiſſit hir hand, and preſented my letter of credence, I tald her Maieſte in Frenche the effect of my commiſſion, as neir to the forſaid inſtructions as I culd; and ſometymes being interrupted be hir demandis, I anſwerit accordingly. The cauſe why I ſpak Frence was, that I wes bot laitly com hame, and culd not as yet ſpeak my awen langage ſa redely. Hir firſt demand was anent the lettre that the Quen had wreten, with ſic diſpytfull langage vnto her, that ſhe beleuit all frendſhip and famylarite had bene geuen vp; quhilk wes cauſe that ſhe myndit never to wret again bot another as diſpytfull, quhilk ſhe tok out of hir poutch, for ſhe had it alredy wreten, to let me ſee;

P. 63. and said, because ſhe thoct it ouer gentill ſhe deleyed to ſend it, vntill ſhe had wreten another mair vehement, for anſwer to the Quenis angry bill. For my part, I apperit to find ſic hard interpretation to be maid vpon the Quenis loving and frank dealing, very ſtrange; and how that the Quene culd not remember what wordes they ar wherat ſhe conceaues ſic offence. Wherupon ſhe ſchew me alſo the Quenis lettre, quhilk ſhe had redy in hir hand to let me ſee. Quhilk when I had ſean, I ſaid I culd find therein na offenſywe word, in reſpect of ther gret famyliarte; alleging that albeit hir Maielte culd ſpeak agud Frenche as any that had never bene out of the contre, that yet ſhe laiketh the vie of the Frenche court language, whilk wes frank and ſchort, and had oft tymes twa ſignifications, quhilk diſcreit and famylier frendis tok alwayes in the beſt part; preing hir to rywe the angerie wretingis quhilk ſhe thoct to have ſend for anſwer, and in reuenge of the Quenis; and ſaid, that I ſuld never let the Quen knaw, that her trew plain meanyng was ſa miſcontrewed. Alwaiſ at lenth, ſhe being deſyrous of ane honeſt colour or excuſe, ſhe was the eaſelyer pleaſit and ſatiſfied in that point, for the fear ſhe had that frendſhip and correſpondance ſuld leaw aff; our Quen being the firſt ſeaker to renew and continow the ſam be ſending of me ther, and wald not ſtand vpon ceremonies with hir eldeſt ſiſter. Then in my pretens ſhe rawe all the angrie wretingis and anſweres, with promyſe of ſic frendly and frank dealing in tymes comyng, as all hir gud ſiſters doingis and proceedingis ſuld be interpret to the beſt.

The harrang that I maid firſt vnto hir in Frenche is bot ſchort, as folowes.

“ Madame la royne vostre sueure se recommande tres affectueusement a vostre bonne grace, et m’a commande de vous dire qu’elle a esté ces deux moys passées plus qu’un an, pource que durant icelles elle n’a rien entendu de vostre Maïeste, pour tousiours continuer l’amytie et bonne intelligence entre vous deux comme au parauant. Pourtant elle delibera me despecher vers vostre Maïeste, tant pour vous visiter de sa parte, et de vous faire entendre de sa sante et bonne prosperite, comme aussi a mon retour de pouvoir faire le semblable raport de vostre Maïeste, comme de la personne de ce monde alaquelle, apres soy mesmes, elle souhait plus de felicity et prosperite.

“ Sa Maïeste m’a aussi commande de vous declairer, que par quelques lettres de Monsieur le Grand a Liddingtoun, elle a peu comprendre que vostre Maïeste a trouue quelque chose a reprendre dans la lettre quelle vous a escrit, pour reponce a la vostre touchant l’affaire du Conte de Lenox, comme s’elle eut prins vostre admonition en mauuais parte. Sa Maïeste fera bien dolent dentendre que ses lettres aurront estees interpretees sy contraires a son intention, voyant quelle ne print autre conception de laduyse de vostre Maïeste pour lors que comme procedant dune amyable volunte, incitant sa Maïeste plustost a vous remercier et respondre gratieusement, comme elle pense auoir fait, que de monstrier aucun sing de mescontentement; sa Maïeste ne pouvant soy resouuenir de toutes les termes de sadite lettre, pource quelle nest accoustume de garder aucune copie des lettres quelle escrit famylierement de sa propre main, dequoy elle se repent tresbien a present.”  
 Being procedit this far sche stayed me, and tok out the lettres abone specified, to schew me as said is.

Now the auld frendship being renewed, sche inqyred gene the

Quen had fend any answer anent the proposition of a mariage maid to hir be Maister Randolphe. I answerit as I wes instructed, that the Quen thocht litle or nathing therof; bot lukit for the meting of some commissioners vpon the borders, with my Lord of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, to confer and trait vpon all sic matters of gretest importance, as mycht concern the quyetnes of baith the contrees, and contentement of baith the Quenis myndis. "Sa seing that your Maiesteis can not sa schone find the opportunitie of meting, samekle desyred between your selues, quhilk is not expedient nether vntill all vther doutis and desyres be first maid clear, be your maist trusty and famylier confellours; the Quen my mestres, as I haue said, is myndit to fend for hir part, my L. of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, and is in hope that your Maieste will fend my Lordis of Bedford and my L. Robert Dudley." Sche said, that it apperit I maid bot small accompt of my L. Robert, seing that I named the Erle of Bedford before him; bot or it wer lang, sche suld mak hym a greter erle, and that I suld se it done before my returnyng hame; for sche esteemed him as hir brother and best frend, whom sche suld haue married hir self, gif euer sche had bene myndit till tak a husband. Bot being determinit to end hir lyf in virginite, sche wislit that the Quen hir sister suld mary him, as metest of all vther; and with whom sche mycht find in hir hart to declare the Quen second person, rather then with any vther. For being matched with hym, it wald best remove out of hir mynd, all fear and suspision to be offendit be vsurpation before hir death; being assured that he was sa loving and trusty, that he wald never geue his consent, nor suffer sic thing to be enterpryted during hir tym. And to cause the Quen my mestres to think the mair of him, I was requyred to stay



till I had fean him maid Erle of Leycester, and Barron of Denbich, with gret solemnite at Westmester; hir self helping to put on his ceremoniall, he sitting vpon his knees before hir, keping a gret grauite and discret behauour; bot sche culd not refrain from putting hir hand in his nek to kittle him smylingly, the Frenche ambassadour and I standing besyd hir. Then sche asked at me how I lyked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subiect, he was happy that had rencontrit a princes that culd discern and reward gud seruice. "Yet," sche said, "ye lyk better of yonder lang lad;" pointing towardis my Lord Darley, wha as nereft prince of the bluid bure the swerd of honour that day before hir. My answer again wes, that na woman of spirit wald mak choise of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man; for he wes very lusty, berdles and lady facit. I had na will that sche shuld think that I lyked of him, or had any ey or deling that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deall with his mother my Lady Lenox, to purches leawe for him to pass in Scotland, wher his father was alreedy, that he mycht se the contre, and convoy the Erle his father bak again to England.

Now the said Quen was determinit to trait with the Quen my souerane, first anent hir mariage with the Erle of Leycester, and for that effect promysed to send commissioners vnto the borders. In the mean tyme, I was fauorably and famylierly vsed; for during nyn dayes that I remanit at that court, hir Maieste plesit to confer with me euery day, and somtymes thrys vpon a day, to wit a foir nun, efter nun and efter supper. Sometymes sche wald say, that sen sche culd not meit with the Quen her gud sister hir self, to confer famylierly with hir, that sche shuld open a gud part of hir inward mynd vnto me, that I mycht

ſchaw it again vnto the Quen ; and ſaid that ſche was not ſa offendit at the Quenis angry lettre, as for that ſche ſeamed to diſdain ſa far the mariage with my L. of Leyceſter, quhilk ſche had cauſed Meſter Randolphe propon vnto hir. I ſaid that it mycht be he had tuecht ſomething therof to my L. of Murrey and Liddington, bot that he had not proponit the matter directly vnto hir ſelf ; and that atſweill hir Maieſte, as they that wer hir maiſt famylier conſellouris, culd conjectour na thing thervpon bot delayes and drifting of tym, anent the declaring of hir to be ſecond perſoune ; quhilk wald try at the meating of the commiſſioners abone ſpecified. Sche ſaid again, that the tryall and declairation therof wald be haifted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behauoir, and applying to hir pleaſour and aduylſe in hir mariage ; and ſeing the matter concernyng the ſaid declairation wes ſa weichty, ſche had ordonit ſome of the beſt lawers in England, diligently to ſearch out wha had the beſt rycht ; quhilk ſche wald wiſs ſuld be hir dear ſiſter rather then any vther. I ſaid I was affured that hir Maieſte wes baith out of dout therof, and wald rather ſche ſuld be declairit then any vther ; bot I lamented that euen the wyfeſt princes will not ſkance ſufficiently vpon the parcialites and pretences of ſome of ther famylier conſeillouris and ſeruandis ; except it wer ſic a notable and rare prince as K. Hary the 8., hir Maieſteis father of gud memore, wha of his awen head was determinit to declair his ſiſter ſone K. James the 5., (at what tym hir Maieſte was not yet born, bot only hir ſiſter Quen Mary,) hayr apparant to the crown of England, failgeing the aires gottin of his awen body, for the ernoſt deſyre he had till vnit this haille ylland. Sche ſaid, ſche was glaid he did it not. I ſaid that then he had bot a dochter, and was in dout to haue any ma children, and yet had not ſa many ſuſpitions in

his head ; and that hir Maieſte wes out of all dout euer till haue any childrene, as being deliberat to dy a virgen. Sche ſaid that ſche was never myndit to mary, except ſche wer compellit be the Quen hir ſiſters hard behauour towardis hir, in doing by hir counſaill as ſaid is. I ſaid, “ Madam, ye ned not to tell me that ; I knaw your ſtaily ſtomak : Ye think gene ye wer married, ye wald be bot Quen of England, and now ye ar King and Quen baith ; ye may not ſuffer a commander.”

Sche apperit to be ſa effectiounit to the Quen hir gud ſiſter, that ſche had a gret deſyre to ſe hir ; and becauſe ther deſyred meting culd not be ſa haiftely brocht till paſs, ſche deſyted oft to luk vpon hir picture, and tok me in to hir bed chamber, and oppenit a litle lettoun wherin wer dyuers litle pictures wrapped within paiper, and wreten vpon the paiper, ther names with hir awen hand. Vpon the firſt that ſche tok vp was wreten, “ My lordis picture.” I held the candell and preſſit to ſe my lordis picture. Albeit ſche was laith to let me ſe it, at length I be importunite obteanit the ſicht therof, and aſkit the ſame to cary hame with me vnto the Quen ; quhilk ſche refuſed, alleging ſche had bot that ane of his. I ſaid again, that ſche had the principall ; for he was at the fartheſt part of the chamber ſpeaking with the ſecretary Cicill. Then ſche tok out the Quenis picture and kiſſit it ;

P. 66. and I kiſſit hir hand, for the gret loue I ſaw ſche bure to the Quen. Sche ſchew me alſo a fair ruby, gret lyk a racket ball. Then I deſyred that ſche wald eyther ſend it as a token vnto the Quen, or elis my Lord of Leceſters picture. Sche ſaid, gene the Quen wald folow hir counſaill, that ſche wald get them baith with tym, and all that ſche had ; bot ſuld ſend hir a dyamont for a token with me. Now it was lait efter ſupper ; ſche appointed me to be at hir the nyxt mornyng be

8. houres, at quhilk tym sche vsed to walk in hir garden ; and inquyred sundre things at me of this contre, or vther contrees wherin I had laitly traueelit ; and caused me to eat with hir dame of honour, my lady Stafford, ane honorable and godly lady, wha had bene at Geneva, banissit during the regne of Quen Mary, that I mycht be alwayes neir hir Maieste, that sche mycht conferr with me ; and my lady Staffordis dochter was my meistres, for I was of ther acquaintance when they passit throw France, and had gud intelligence be hir and be my lady Throghmortoun.

At dyuers meetingis ther wald be dyuers purposes ; and the Quen my fouerane had instructed me somtymes to leau matters of grauite, and cast in some purposes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred vpon, as being weill infourmed of hir sisters naturell. Therfore in declaring the customes of Dutchland, Polle and Italy, the busking and clothing of the dames and wemen was not forget, and what contrey weid was best setten for gentilwemen to wair. The Quen of England said sche had of dyuers fortis ; quhilkis euery day sa lang as I was ther sche chengit ; ane day the Englissh weid, ane the Frenche, and ane the Ytalien, and sa of others ; asking at me quhilk of them set hir best. I said the italien weid ; quhilk pleist hir weill, for sche delyted to schaw her golden coloured hair, wairing a kell and bonet as they do in Italy. Hir hair was reder then yellow, curlit apparantly of nature. Then sche entrit to discern what kynd of coulour of hair was reputed best ; and inquyred whither the Quenis or hers was best, and quhilk of them twa was fairest. I said, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worst faltes. Bot sche was earnest with me to declare quhilk of them I thocht fairest. I said, sche was the fairest Quen in England, and ours

the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet sche was ernerest. I said, they wer baith the fairest ladyes of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome. Sche inquiryed quhilk of them was of hyest stature. I said, our Quen. Then sche said, the Quen was ouer heych, and that hir self was nother ouer hich nor ouer laich. Then sche askit what kynd of exercyses sche vsed. I said, that I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting; and when sche had leafer fra the affaires of hir contre, sche red vpon gud bukis, the histories of dyuers contrees, and fontymes wald play vpon lut and virginelis. Sche speirit gene sche plaid weill. I said, raifonably for a Quen.

P. 67. That same day efter dener, my L. of Hundfden drew me vp till a quyet gallerie that I mycht heir some musik, bot he said he durst not advow it, wher I mycht heir the Quen play vpon the virginelis. Bot efter I had harkenit a whyll, I tok by the tapifferie that hang before the dur of the chamber, and seing hir bak was toward the dur, I entrit within the chamber and stod still at the dur chek, and hard hir play excellently weill; bot sche left aff sa schone as sche turnit hir about and saw me, and cam forwartis femyng to stryk me with hir left hand, and to think schame; alleging that sche vsed not to play before men, bot when sche was solitary hir allaine, till eschew melancholy; and askit how I cam ther. I said, as I was walken with my L. of Hundfden, as we past by the chamber dur, I hard sic melodie, quhilk rauyft and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my falt of hamelynes, as being brocht vp in the court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kynd of punisfement wald pleise hir lay vpon me for my offence. Then sche sat down laich vpon a

kuffchen, and I vpon my knee befyd hir; bot ſche gaif me a kuffchen with hir awen hand to lay vnder my kne, quhilk I refufed, bot ſche compellit me; and callit for my lady Stafford out of the nyxt chamber, for ſche was hir allain ther. Then ſche asked whither the Quen or ſche played beſt. In that I gaif hir the prayſe. Sche ſaid my Frenche was gud; and ſperit gif I culd ſpeak Italen, quhilk ſche ſpak raifonable weill. I ſaid, I taried not abone tua monethes in Italy, and had brocht with me ſome bukis to reid vpon; bot had na leafer to learn the langage perfytylly. Then ſche ſpak to me in Dutche, bot it was not gud; and wald wit what kynd of bukis I lyked beſt, whither of theologie, hiſtory, or loue matters. I ſaid, I lyked weill of all the ſortis.

I was erneſt to be diſpetſchit; bot ſche ſaid that I tyred ſchoner of hir company nor ſche did of myn. I ſaid, albeit I had na occaſion ty tyre, that it was tym to retourn; bot I was ſtayed twa dayes langer till I mycht ſe hir dance, as I was infourmed; quhilk being done, ſche inquyred at me whither ſche or the Quen dancit beſt. I ſaid, the Quen dancit not ſa hich and diſpoſedly as ſche did. Then again ſche wiſſit that ſche mycht ſe the Quen, at ſome convenient place of meat-  
ing. I offerit to convoy hir ſecrety in Scotland be poiſt, clothed lyk a paige diſgyſed, that ſche mycht ſe the Quen; as K. James the 5. paſt in France diſgyſed, with his awen ambaffadour, to ſe the Duc of Vendomes ſiſter that ſuld haue bene his wyf; and how that hir chamber ſuld be kepit as thoch ſche wer ſeak, in the mean tym, and nane to be preuy therto bot my lady Stafford, and ane of the grumes of hir chamber. Sche ſaid, Alace! gene ſche mycht do it; and ſeamed to lyk weill of ſic kynd of langage, and vſed all the meanis ſche culd to cauſe me perſuade the Quen of the gret loue that ſche bure vnto hir, and was



myndit to put away all gelenfies and fufpitions, and in tymes comyng a ftraiter frendfchip to ftand betwen them then euer had bene of before ; and promyfed that my difpafche fuld be delyuerit vnto me very fchortly, be Mefter Cicill at Londoun. For now fche was paff till Hamton court, wher fche gaif me my anfwer be mouth hir felf, and hir fecretary be wret.

The nyxt day my L. of Leycefter defyred me to faill in his barge down the watter of Tames to Londoun, quhilk wes ten myles from Hamtoncourt. He had in his company, his gud brother Sir Harry Sidney deputy of Yreland. Be the way my faid L. entrit with me famylierly, alleging that he wes weill acquainted with my L. of Murray, Liddingtoun and my brother Sir Robert ; and that he was alfo fa weill acquainted with me be report, that he durft be fa hardy as to requyre, that I wald fchaw him what the Quen my meftres thocht of of him, and of the mariage that Mefter Randolphe had proponit. Wherunto I anfwerit very cauldly, as I was be the Quen commandit. Then he began to purge himfelf of fa proud a pretence as to mary fa gret a Quen, eftrenyng him felf not worthy to deicht hir felone ; alleging the invention of that propofition to haue proceedit of Mefter Cicill his fecret enemy. “ For gif I fuld,” faid he, “ haue feared to defyre that mariage, I fuld haue tint the fauour of baith the Quenis ;” preing me till excufe him vnto the Quen, that it wald pleafe hir Maiefte not to input vnto him that lourd falt, bot vnto the malice of his ennemys.

Landing at Londoun, our denner was prepared be the Erle of Penburg ; wha being gret maifter, yet humbled him fa far as to ferue the faid table, as mefter houfehald him felf ; and fchew him felf to be a



deuot frend to the Quene anent hir title. That efter denner, I tok my leawe at the Frenche ambassadour, with dyuer aduertifmentis from him, and from the Spanisch ambassadour. My L. of Leycester fend also wretings with me to my L. of Murray, till excufe him at the Quenis hand.

The day apponted, I gat my despasche fra secretary Cicill, together with a lettre of credit and a mair ample declaration of the Quenis mynd, tueching the same answers that sche had maid vnto me hir self. He gaif me also a wreting to the secretary Liddingtoun; for as I haue said, my L. of Lecifter, and he my Lord of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, reuled baith the Quenis, and kepit correspondance together as yet.

When I tok my leawe, the secretary Cicill convoyed me throw the close to the vtter get of his palice, sa I may call it, efter he had put a faire cheigne about my nek hym self. My Lady Lenox and Sir Nycholas Throgmorton fend many gud aduyces to the Quen, to be folowed fourth according to the tym and occasions. My Lady Lenox fend also takens to the Quen, a ring with a fair dyemont; ane emeraud to my L. hir husband, wha was yet in Scotland; a dyamont to my L. of Murray; ane orlege or montre set with dyamontis and rubis, to the secretary Liddingtoun; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert; for sche was still in gud hope, that hir sone my Lord Darley suld com better sheid then the Erle of Leycester, anent the mariage with the Quen. Sche was a very wyfe and discret matroun, and had many fauors in England for the tym.

At my hamecommying, I fand the Quenis Maieste still in Edinbrough; to whom I declared the maner of my proceeding with the Quen of

England, and hir answer to the speciall headis of my instructions in wret.

Hir Maieſte answerit to the first; That wheras the Quen thocht the tym very lang ſen ſche reſauit other word or wret fra hir, wherby ſche mycht vnderſtand of her gud eſtair, and had ſend me ther to veſit hir in hir behalf; That ſche thocht the tym aſlang, albeit ſche had conceaued ſome greif anent the angry lettre; quhilk was the greter, in reſpect it apperit that ſche diſdanit the offer of the beſt gud ſche had till geue, to wit the man whom ſche eſtemed as hir brother. And wheras ſche had ſend me to veſit hir, ſche was mair content with my commyng then ſche wald haue bene of any vther; being of hir gud acquaintance, with whom ſche mycht famylierly declair hir inwart mynd vnto the Quen my maiſtres, ſeing ſche culd not meit with hir

P. 69. (ſa ſchon as ſche deſyrit) hir ſelf; as I mycht declaire, how famylierly ſche had conferrit with me all hir inwart greifis and deſyres, and how weill ſche was ſatiſfied, and how willing till continow all gud offices of amytie; and ſuld for that effect ſend ſhortly down to the borders, commiſſioners that wer named be hir ſelf, to meit with my L. of Murray and Liddingtoun.

As for the Parlement, it wes yet in dout whither it held or not. Gene it held, the Quen ſuld get na hurt in hir richt, nother directly nor indirectly, bot ſuld be alwayes fairwarnit in dew tym.

Then I ſchew hir Maieſte at lenth, of all vther purpoſes that fell out be occaſion betwen hir and me; together with the oppinions and aduertifimentis of dyuers of hir frendis in England, aſweill catholikis as proteſtantis; and from the ambaffadour of Spain, of the K. his maſters gud will towardis hir Maieſte; and lyk wayes of Don Carle the

prince, albeit that he was for the tyme in some suspition with his father ; wherby the purpose of mariage wald apperantly tak some delay, vntill matters mycht fram better betwen the father and the sounne ; assuring hir Maieste of his awen perticulair seruice and futherance at his power, and sould from tyme to tyme mak hir intelligence.

Hir Maieste was very glaid that matters wer brocht again in sa gud termes, as that famylier dealing mycht continew betwen hir and the Quen of England ; wherby sche mycht haue acces to get intelligence fra a gret nombre of noble men and vthers, hir frendis and factioners in England ; and because sche fearit also to get the wyet of ther discord, gif it had continowed.

Efter that hir Maieste had vnderstand at gret lenth, all my handling and proceedingis in England, sche inquiryt whither I thoct that Quen ment trewly towardis hir asweill inwarty in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach. I said, in my iugement, that ther was nather plain dealing nor vprycht meanyng, bot gret dissimulation, emulation, and fear that hir princely qualites sould ouer schone, chaife hir out, and displace hir from the kingdome ; as having alrede hendrit hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles of Austria, and now offering vnto hir my L. of Leycester, whom sche wald be laith as then to want. Then the Quen gaif me hir hand, that sche sould never mary the said new maid erle ; albeit shortly whyll efter, my L. of Murray and Bedford met besyd Berwik to trait vpon the mariage with Leycester, with slenderer offers and les effectuell dealing then was loked for. Bot the said Erle of Leycester had wreten sa discret and wyse lettres vnto my L. of Murray, for his excuses, that the Quen apperit to haue sa gud lyking of him, as that the Quen of England began to fear and suspect that the said mariage

mycht perchance tak effect. And therefore my L. Darley obteanit the rather licence to com in Scotland, wha was a lusty youth, in hope that he suld preuail being present, before Leycester that was absent. Quhilk licence was obteanit be the meanis of the sècretary Cicill ; not that he was myndit that any of the mariages suld tak effect, bot with sic schiftis and pratikes to hald the Quen on married sa lang as he culd. For he persuadit him self, that my L. Darley durst not pass fordwart without the consent of the Quen of England to the said mariage ; his land lying in England, and his mother remanyng ther. Sa he thocht it lay in the Quen his mistres awen hand, to let the mariage go fordwart, or to fley the same at hir plesour ; and incaice my L. Darley wald disobey the Quen of Englandis charge, to com bak at hir ca, intendit to forfait him, wherby he suld lois all his landis richtis and titles that he had in England.

P. 70. The Quenis Maieste, as I haue said, efter hir returnyng out of France to Scotland, behaued hir self sa princely, sa honorably and discretly, that hir reputation spred in all contrees ; and was determynit and also inclynit to continow in that kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyf ; desyryng to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation, abhorring all vices and vitious personnes, whither they wer men or women ; and requested me to assist hir in geuyng hir my gud counsaill, how sche mycht vse the meatest meanis till aduance hir honest intention ; and incaice sche, being yet yong, mycht forget hir self in any vnseamly gestour or misbehauour, that I wald warn hir therof, with my admonition to forbear and reform the sam. Quhilk commissioun I refused altogether, saying that hir verteous actions, hir naturell judgement, and gret experience sche had learnit in the company

of ſa many notable princes in the court of France, had instructed hir ſa weill and maid hir ſa able as to be ane exemplar to all hir ſubiectis and ſeruandis. Bot ſche wald not leaue it ſa, bot ſaid ſche knew that ſche had committed dyuers errorrs, vpon na euell menyng, for lek of the admonition of loving frendis ; becauſe that the maiſt part of courteouris commonly flatteris princes to won ther fauour, and will not tell them the verite, fearing to tyn ther fauour ; and therefore adjured me, and commandit me to accept that charge ; quhilk I ſaid was a ruynous commiſſion, willing hir to lay that bourthen vpon hir brother my Lord of Murray and the ſecretary Liddingtoun ; bot ſche ſaid that ſche wald not tak it in ſa gud a part of them as of me. I ſaid, I fearit that it wald cauſe me with tyn tyn hir fauour ; bot ſche ſaid, it apperit I had ane euell oppinion of hir conſtancy and diſcretion, quhilk oppinion ſche doubted not bot I wald alter efter that I had eſſayed the occupation of that frendly and famylier charge. In the mean tyn, ſche maid me famylier till all hir maiſt vrgent affaires ; bot cheifly in hir dealing with any forren nation, ſche ſchew unto me all her lettres, and them that ſche refauit fra vther princes ; and willit me to wret vnto ſic princes as I had acquaintance of, and to ſome of ther counſellours ; wherein I forget not to ſet out hir vertus, and wald ſchaw hir again ther anſwers, and ſic occurrences as poſted for the tyn between contrees, to hir gret contentement. For ſche was of a quyk ſpirit, and curious to knaw and to get intelligence of the eſtate of vther contrees ; and wald be ſome tymes ſad when ſche was ſolitary, and glaid of the company of them that had trauelit in vther partis.

Now ther cam heir in company with the ambaffadour of Scauoy, ane David Riccio, of the contre of Piedmont, that was a merry fallow and a

gud mucitien ; and hir Maieſte had thre varletis of hir chamber that ſang thre partis, and wanted a beifs to ſing the fourt part ; therfor they tald hir Maieſte of this man to be ther fourt marrow, in ſort that he was drawn in to ſing ſomtymes with the reſt ; and eftirwart when the ambaffadour his maifter retournit, he ſtayd in this contre, and wes retired in hir Maieſtes ſervice as ane varlet of hir chamber. And efterwart when hir French ſecretary retired him ſelf till France, this David obtenit the ſaid office, and therby entrit in greter credit, and occupied

P. 71. hir Maieſteis ear of tymes in preſens of the nobilite, and when ther was greteſt conventions of the eſtatis ; quhilk maid hym to be ſa invyed and hatted, cheifly when he grew ſa gret that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcryuit be hir Maieſte, that ſome of the nobilite wald glowm vpon him, and ſome of them wald ſchulder him and ſchut hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and ſand him alweis ſpeaking with hir Maieſte. And ſome again that had hard turnis to be helpit, new infeſtmentis to be tane, or that deſyred to preuail againſt ther ennemys in court or ſeſſion, addreſſit them vnto him, and dependit vpon hym ; wherby in ſchort tym he becam very rich. Not without ſome fear, therefore, he lamented his eſtait vnto me, and aſkit my conſaill, how to behaue hym ſelf. I tald him, that ſtrangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit ouer far in the affaires of forren contrees. He ſaid, he being ſecretary to hir Maieſte in the Frenche tung, had occaſion therby till occupy hir Maieſteis ear, as hir formair ſecretary vſed to do. I ſaid again, that it wes thocht that the maiſt part of the affaires of the contre paſt throw his handis ; and aduysit him, when the nobilite wer preſent, to gif them place, and prey the Quenis Maieſte to be content therwith ; and ſchew him, for ane example, how I



had bene in fa gret fauour with the Electour Palatin, that he caufed fet me at his awen table, and the burd being drawn, ufed to confer with me in prefens of his haill court ; wherat dyuers of them tok gret indignation againft me ; quhilk fa fchone as I perfaut, I requested him to let me fit from his awen table, with the reft of his gentlemen, and na mair to conferre with me in ther prefens, bot to fend a paige for me, any tym that he had leafer, till com to hym in his chamber ; quhilk I obteanit, and that way maid my mafter not to be hated, nor my felf to be invyed ; and willit him to do the lyk. Quhilk he did, and faid vnto me efterwart, that the Quen wald not fuffer him, bot wald nedis haue him to vfe him felf in the auld maner. I anfwerit, that I was fory for the inconuenientis that mycht enfew therupon ; and efterwart, feing the invy againft the faid Dauid till increafe, and that be his wreke hir Maiefte mycht incurre difplefure, I remembrit vpon hir Maiefteis commandement, till foirwarn and admonilh hir of all apperant eyleftis that mycht chance to fall out, as I had done dyuers tymes of before, (quhilk was gratioufly reformed and redrest be hir Maiefte.) Now I tok occafion lykwayes to enter with hir Maiefte, and in maift humble maner fchew her what aduife I had geuen unto Seigneur Dauid, as is abone fpecified. Hir Maiefte faid, that he medlit na farther bot in hir French wrettingis and affaires, as hir vther Frenche fecretary had done of before ; and faid, that wha euer fand falt therwith, fche wald not leawe to do hir ordinary directions. I remembrit hir Maiefte what difplefure fche had tane of before, for the rafche misbehauour of a Frenche gentilman callit Chattellier, transported be hir affabilite ; and lykwais of the Erle of Arran for the fame caufe ; not douting bot hir Maiefteis graue and comely behauour towardis fic itran-



gers, and transportit leicht perfonen, wald bring them in a mair deuti-  
full reuerence to hir honour, and the contentement of hir fubiectis.  
Sche thankit me for my continuell cair, and promyſed to tak ſic gud  
ordour ther intill as the cauſe requyred.

- P. 72. I haue ſaid alredy, how that my Lord Darley was aduysed to ſut  
licence to com in Scotland ; wha at his firſt commyng fand the Quen  
in the Wemes, makand hir progrefs throw Fyfe. Hir Maieſte tok weill  
with him, and ſaid that he was the luſtieſt and beſt proportionit lang  
man that ſche had ſean ; for he was of a heich ſtature, lang and ſmall,  
euen and brent vp ; weill inſtructed from his youth in all honeſt and  
comely exerceyſes. And eftir he had hanted a quhill in court, he pro-  
ponit mariage to hir Maieſte ; quhilk ſche tok in ane euell part at the  
firſt, as ſche tald me that ſame day hir ſelf ; and how ſche had refuſed  
the ring quhilk he then offerit vnto hir. Wher I tok occaſion, as I had  
begun, to ſpeak in his fauour, that ther mariage wald put out of dout  
ther title to the ſucceſſion. I can not tell how he fell in acquaintance  
with ſeignieur Dauid, bot he alſo was his gret frend at the Quenis  
hand ; ſa that hir Maieſte tok ay the langer the better lyking of him,  
and at lenth determinit to mary him. Quhilk being knawen vnto the  
Quen of England, ſche ſend and chargit him to return ; and alſo ſend  
hir ambaffadour Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun in Scotland, baith to diſ-  
ſuad the Quen to mary him, and incaice the Quen wald not folow hir  
advyſe in hir mariage, to perſwad the lordis and ſa many as wer of  
hir religion, to withſtand the ſaid mariage, onles the ſaid Lord Darley  
wald promiſe and ſubſcryve to abyd at the religion reſourmed, quhilk  
ha had planly profeſſit in England. The Quen again perſauing the  
Quen of Englandis ernest oposition till all the mariages that wer of-

ferit vnto hir, thocht not meit to delay any langer hir mariage. Bot my L. Duc of Chattelerault, my Lordis of Argyll, Murrey, Glencarn, Rothcs, and dyuers vthers lordis and barrons, withstod the said mariage ; wha efter that they had maid a mynt to tak the Lord Darley, in the Quenis company, at the raid of Baith, and to haue fend him in England as they allegit, I wot not what was in ther mynd, bot it was ane eucl fauorit enterpryse, wherintill the Quen was in danger other of keping, or hart breking ; and as they that had failed of ther fulishe enterpryse, tok on planly ther armes of rebellion. Hir Maieste again conuenit forces till persew them, and chacit them heir and ther, till at lenth they wer compellit to fle in England for refuge, to hir that had promysed be hir ambassadours to wair hir crown in ther defence, incaice they wer dryuen till any strait for ther opposition vnto the said mariage. Quhilk was all denyed at ther commyng to seek help ; and when they send vp my L. of Murray to that Quen, the rest abyding at Newcastle, he culd obtean nathing but disdain and scorn ; till at lenth he, and the Abbot of Kilwynning his companion in that message, wer perswadit to com and confes vnto the Quen vpon ther knees, and that in presens of the ambassadours of France and Spain, that hir Maieste had neuer moued them to that opposition and resistance against ther Quenis mariage. For this sche had desyred, to satisfie the saidis ambassadours, wha baith allegit in ther maisters names, that sche was cause of the said rebellion, and that hir only delyt was to steir vp discention amang all hir nybours, not without cause ; yet in this allegence sche ouer cam them ; for sche handlit the matter sa subtilie, and

P. 73. the vther twa sa blaitly, in granting vnfuthfastly hir desyre, vpon hir faire promyse, that sche tryumphed ouer the saidis ambassadours, for

ther allegence. Bot vnto my L. of Murray and his marrow sche said, " Now ye haue tald the treuth ; for I nor nane in my name sterit you vp against your Quen ; for your abominable trefoun mycht ferue for exemple, to moue my awen subiectis to rebell against me. Therefore pak you out of my prefens ; ye ar bot vnworthy traitours." This was all ther meritorious reward ; and wer not the mair moyen was maid be some in England that pitied them, they had not bene sufferit to remain withiu hir dominions during ther banissement. Howbeit sche had promysed of new again to assist and help them to the vttermaist of hir power, with condition that they wald pleise hir sa far as to sit down vpon ther knees, in prefens of the saidis ambassadours, and mak the foirsaid fals confession. As for secret help, sche maid them nane ; only they obteanit a small contribution of a thre thousand poundis Scotis, amang some of ther awen religion ther, wha had born them gud will of before ; quhilk wes distribut amang the rest of the banisfit lordis, wher they remanit altogether at Newcastle, comfortles and in gret miserie.

I haue declairit, that asweill the counsell of Englandis courtly dealing, schifting and drifting, be staying the Quen sa far as they mycht fra marieing with any man, far or neir, gret or small, caused the Quen to haist fordwart hir mariage with my L. Darley ; quhilk was solemnfiit in the palice of Halyrodhoufe, within the Quenis chapell, at the mess ; wherin seigneur Dauid was na small instrument, as said is.

Then Scotland being almaiist hailely at the reformed religion, tok a displyking of the K. becaufe, as was allegit, he had planly professit the same religion before in England. Then inventions and bruitis wer raised, how that the said seigneur Dauid had a pension of the Paip ;

and having baith Quen and K. of his oppinion, mycht the rather and eafeyler attempt with tym, to plant again in Scotland the Roman Catholik religion. And euen in tha dayes, the Paip fend the foun of 8000 crownis to be delyuerit to the Quen; bot the fchip wherein the faid gold was, brak vpon the coift of England within the Erle of Northomberlandis boundis. Wha allegit the hail to appertean vnto him be juft law; quhilk he caufed his aduocat red vnto me, (when I was directed to him for the faid filuer,) in the auld Normand langage, quhilk nother he nor I vnderftod weill, it was fa corrupt. Bot he wald geue na part therof to the Quen, albeit he was a catholik him felf, and vtherwayes profeffit secretly to be hir frend.

Efter that the Quenis Maiefte had married my L. Darley, fche did him gret honour hir felf, and willit euery ane that wald deferue hir fauour till do the lyk, and to await vpon him; fa that he was weill accompanied, and fic as futed him and be him, for a whill, cam beft fpeid of ther errandis. And becaufe he married by the aduyfe of the Quen of England, my Lady Lenox his mother was commitit til be wardit in the tour of Londoun, wher fche remanit lang.

All this whyll I attendit ftill vpon the Quen, with les famylierite then I had of before; lykways the fecretary Liddingtoun was in fufpition, as a fauorer of my L. of Murrey. I feing my feruice for the tym na mair nedfull, humilly procured lifcence at the Quen to return till France, and vther partis wher I had fpendit the half of my tym;

P. 71. bot hir Maiefte wald not grant that I fuld leaue hir, meruelen what mycht moue me. I faid that the tym was full of fufpitions, and that I was affured to do hir Maiefte better feruice in any vther contre then heir at hame, as matters had fallen out. Sche faid, that I culd do hir

afgud feruice heir at hame as any that feruit hir, gif I pleſit ; bot that I had left af to tell hir my oppinion anent hir proceedingis. I ſaid, that I fearit that my oppinionis mycht chance to be vnplaiſant vnto hir Maieſte ; bot ſche affirmed the contrair, and ſaid that I had ennemys that did what they culd to put me in ſuſpition with the K., as being a fauorer of my L. of Murrey ; quhilk ſche had put out of the Kingis head, as being better acquainted with my natur and conditions ; ſaying that ſche knew weill that I had a lyking of my L. of Murrey, bot not of his maner of doing, and that ſche was aſſured that I loued hir ten tymes better nor hym ; and ſaid mair ouer, that gif aſmekle euell wer ſpoken of hir to me, as was of me till hir, that ſche wald wiſs that I ſuld geue them na mair credit againſt hir, then ſche did or ſuld do againſt me ; and gaif me hir conſaill to await vpon the King, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue him and hir my gud aduylſe, as I was wont to do, that mycht help hir till eſchew all apperant inconvenientis ; and gaif me hir hand, that ſche ſuld tak all in a gud part what euer I ſpak, as proceeding of a loving and faithfull ſeruand ; willing me alſo to be frend vnto ſeigneur David, wha was haited without cauſe. The K. alſo tald me, what they wer that had ſpoken in my contraire ; and ſaid, that they wer knawen to be ſic commown liers as ther tong was na ſlander. Be this meanis the Quenis Maieſte obligit me, ay mair and mair, to be cairfull for the weill of hir ſeruice ; and to tak occaſion of new to geue hir Maieſte my oppinion, to mak hir proffit be the miſhandling of the Erle of Murrey and his aſſociatis in England, be that Quenis vncourtes dealing with him before the twa ſpecified ambaffadours, and had broken all hir faire promyſes vnto him and them.

Fiſt I ſchew vnto hir Maieſte, how that euer ſen hir return in hir

awen contre, ſche had findre tymes eſſayed to get hir nobilite and haill ſubiectis entierly and foundly affected, to tak plaine part with hir in all actions whatſomeuer ; and cheifly againſt England, incaice ſche mycht haue occaſion till employ them ; quhilk ſche culd not as yet obtean, becauſe of the ſecret band and promyle wes maid amang them, the tym when the Engliſ army cam in at Leith, to help to put the Frenche men out of Scotland.

“ Now,” ſaid I, “ the occaſion is offerit, wherby your Maieſte may bring your deſyred intention till paſs, gif ye culd find in your hart, other till pardon my L. of Murray and his aſſociatis, or elis till prolong the parlement wherin they ar to be forſalted, vntill your Maieſte may aduyle and ſe what proffit may be drawen, other be ther forſalting, or be putting them in hope of grace with tym, according as they may mak  
 P. 75. cauſe in folowing and obſeruyng ſic reules and directions as ſalbe ſet down vnto them be your Maieſte.” To this ſche anſwerit, that now when they mycht not do na better they ſocht hir ; bot when ſche ſocht ther concurrence, as ſubiectis vnto ther natywe prince, they wald not heir hir ; na mair wald ſche now heir ther futtis. I ſaid, when ſoeuer they ſuld mak ther futtis, it ſuld not be by me ; bot this I propone of my ſelf to your Maieſte, wha can chuſe the beſt and leave the worſt in all accidentis. Sen it is na litle matter to won the haill hartis of all your ſubiectis, and alſo of a gud number in England that fauours them and ther religion ; wha wald admyre ſic princely vertus, as to ſe your Maieſte to reull ouer your awen paſſions and affections, and thereby think you maiſt worthy to regne ouer kyngdomes ; redy to forgeue, and laith to uſe vengeance cheifly againſt ſubiectis alredy vincult, and not worthy of your wraith, and wha ar now ſa willing to be



reuengit vpon your greteft aduerfary. Sa that clemency at fic a tym will be found mair convenient, and the part of juftice callit equite mair profitable than rygour ; for extremitie bringis on oft tymes difpaired enterpryfes. At this hir Maiefte entrit in choler, faying, “ I deffy them. What dow they to do, and what dar they do ? ” I faid, “ Madame, with your Maiefteis pardone, my propofition is bo folowing your Maiefteis commandement, to fchaw you my oppinion and aperances at all occaſions, for the weill of your feruice.” Then ſche faid, that ſche thankit me for the ſame, and granted that it was a gud aduylfe and neceſſary to be done ; and that yet ſche culd not find in hir hart to haue ado with any of them, for dyuers respectis ; preing me not to leawe aff fra geuyng hir my continowell aduylfe, at all fic occaſions ; for howbeit ſche mycht not folow this, ſche mycht perchance do better another tym. I faid, that many noblemen being baniſhit, and ſa neir hand as the Newcaſtell, having many vther noblemen heir at hame of ther kin and frendis, ſa mall content as I knew them to be for the tym, with fic vnhappy bruitis wherof ſche was not yngnorant, cauſed me to fear ſome attemptat till ane alteration ; for I faid I had hard weyd ſpeeches, that we wald heir newes or the parlement was endit. Hir Maiefte ſayed, that ſche had alfo ſome aduertifmentis of the lyk bruitis, bot that our contre men wer weill wordy. Efter that I had bene this way in hand with hir Maiefte, I entrit with 1<sup>r</sup> David in the ſame maner ; for then he and I wer vnder gud frendſchip. Bot he diſdanit all danger, and diſpyſed conſaill, ſa that I was compellit to fay that I fearit ouer lait repentance.

Ye haue hard how that Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was ane of the twa Engliſ ambaffadours, that wes ſent in heir to ſtay the mariage,



and to mak many promyſes in his meſtres name to ſa many as wald reſiſt the ſame ; quhilk promyſes wer efterwart denyed be the Quen of England, and be Meſter Randolphe. Bot Sir Nycholas Throgmorton ſtod na aw, nother of the Quen nor counſaill, to tell the verite, how that he had maid ſic promyſes to them in hir name. Quhilk the counſaill and craftieſt courteouris thocht ſtrange, and wer myndit to puniſh him,

P. 76. for aduowing the ſaid promyſe to haue bene maid in his meſtres name, wer not that he, wyſely and circumspectly, had ane act of counſaill for his warrant till produce ; and the ſaid Sir Nycholas was ſa angry, for that he had bene maid ane inſtrument to diſceau the Scotis baniffis lordis, that he aduylſed them to ſit humbly for pardone at ther awen Quen, neuer again till offend hir for na prince alywe. And becauſe they had na moyen nor outgait, he pennit a perſwaſywe propoſition, and ſend in heir vnto hir Maieſte.

“ Your Maieſte has in England many frendis of all degrees, that fauores your title ; bot for dyuers reſpectis. Some for very conſcience ſaik, being perſuadit that in law your rycht is beſt ; ſome for the gud oppinion they haue conceaut, by the honnorable report they haue hard of your Maieſteis vertues and liberalite, wherby they eſteam you maiſt worthy to gouern ; ſome for factions that fauores your religion ; ſome for the euell will they bear vnto your compeditour, ſeing ther awen parell, gif my Lady Katherine ſuld com in that place.

“ Of thir ſome ar papiftis and ſome proteſtantis ; and yet how euer they differ amangeſt them ſelues, in religion or vther particulariteis, they ar baith of a mynd for the aduancement of that propos that tueches your Maieſte. Your Maieſte has alſo many ennemys, for dyuers re-

spectis not onlyk to the other ; whais study has always bene and wilbe, (onles they may be maid frendis,) to hender any thing that may tend to your commoditie. In a point all concurre, baith frendis and ennemys, yea the haill people ; that they ar maift defyrous to haue the succeffion of the crowne declaired and affured, that they may be at a certaintie. Only the Quen hir felf is of the contrary oppinion, and wald be glaid the matter always fuld ftand in dout, and hing in fufpens.

“ Your vnfrendis has done what they culd, to tak the aduantage of the tym to your prejudice ; and to that end preffit the halding of the parlement, quhilk was befoir continowed vntill October laft ; knowing affuredly that gif the parlement held, the succeffion of the crown wald be callit in queffion ; and they thocht the tym ferued weall for ther propos, when ther was diuifion and trouble in your awen realm, and your intelligence in England, baith with the Quen and fubiectis, as they thocht, at the worft. Your fauorers, for elchewing of that inconvenient, and wynyng of tym to gif your Maiefte place to werk, and remoue all impedimentis fa far as wyldome may, has found the meanis to drywe it prefently whill the nyxt fpring. Now ther aduysfe is, that in this mean tym, your Maiefte proceed by wifdome to affure your felf of the haill vottis, or at leaft the beft and maift part of the parlement, when euer the matter falbe brocht in queffion ; quhilk may be done by re-teanyng the hartis of them ye haue alredy, recouering of them that ar brangled, wynnyng of the neutralis, and fa many of your aduerfaris as may be wonn ; for all ar not, as is to be fupponit, fa far addicted to the contrary faction, bot when the caufe is remoued of the affection that way, the effect alfo will ceafe.

“ Generally your Maiefte mon forbear to do any act that will offend

the haill people, and vſe ſic meanis as ar lyk to content any people. Strangers ar vniverſelly ſulpect to the haill people ; wherinto your Maieſte in your mariage has wyſely prouydit for ther contentation, in abſteanyng from matches with forren princes. Sa aduſſe they your Maieſte, to abſtean from the conclufion of any leig or confederacy with any forrene prince, that may offend England, whill ye haue firſt eſſayed what ye may purchaſe be benevolence of the born men of the land. Not that they wald wiſs your Maieſte to forſaik the frendſhip of France and Spaine, bot rather that your Maieſte ſuld wyſely enterteny them baith, to remane at your deuotion incaice that efterwart ye haue to do

P. 77. with ther fauour. Nevertheles, that the ſame remain rather in generall termes, as heirtofoir, quhill ye ſe farther, then that ye proceed till any ſpeciall actis that may offend England, and that ye can not with honour bring bak again when ye wald. Sa many of your aduerſaries as ar addicted to the contrary faction, for hattrent of your religion, may be wone, when they ſe your Maieſte wyſely continow in the temperance and moderation ye haue hitherto vſit within your awen realm, in matters of religion, without innovation or alteration. Sa many as by miſreportis has bene caried to the contrary faction, may by trew report be brocht bak again, when they ſall heir of your benignite and clemency, vſed alwaies towardis your ſubiectis ; quhilkis vertues in princes, of all vthers maiſt allures the hartis of people, to fauour and yeild euen vnto ther commoun ennemys. Sa many as can deall warrely and diſcretly with your frendis of baith the religions, and ar only addicted for conſcience ſaik vnto my Lady Katherine, being perſuadit of the betternes of your title by richt, may be wone to your Maieſte be contrary perſuaſions, and be deducing of ſic reaſouns and argumentis, as may be allegit

for proif of your gud caufe, where there is ftoir enough. Some your Maieſte will find in England, that will hazard ſa far as they dar, to ferue your turn in this behalf. Bot becauſe it is ſa dangerous to men to deall in, and ſtandis ſubiectis vpon lyues and landis, gene they be ſean ernest medlers to trauell in that part ſa ſufficiently as appertenis, it will requyre ſic instrumentis of your awen, when tym commes, wha may baldly ſpeak without danger, and with whom the ſubiectis of England dar frely communicat ther myndis, and enter in conference. Gif any feris your Maieſte, thinking that ye haue an euell oppinion of them, the aſſurance of any truſty miniſter, of your gud will, whom they will credit, will ſchone put them out of dout and mak them fauourable anough. They that ar conſtantly yours, ar eaſely retenit at your deuotion. They that heirtofore has born any fauour, and be the lait occurrences ar any thing branlet, wilbe brocht hame again, when they ſall ſe your Maieſte, now when it is fallen in your handis to uſe rygour or mercy as pleſis you, rather inclyn to the maiſt plaufible part, in ſchawing your magnanimite, wher ye brocht your ſubiect to ſubmiſſion; and then ſchawes gentilnes, as the gud paſtour to reduce his ſcheep that wer gone aſtray hame to the fald again. They that ar yet newterelis, by the ſame meanis and trew information of your intrefis by law, may all be won to your ſyd. This done, when the matter commes in queſtion, as your frendis will ernestly preſis at this nyxt parlement, your Maieſte will bear it away without contrauerſie.

“ This deuyſe, in ſa far as tuechis the reconcilien of your ſubiectis, is not a fetehe for ther fauour, bot thocht expedient for your ſeruite; done be many that has na fauour to them, and ar different from them in religion. For it ſall put the Quen of England in a gret fear, when

ſche ſall ſee in this realm ſic a vnion, the head and haill membres together ; and will not wit how to trouble your Maieſteis eſtait, ſpecially when the reconciliation takis effect in the hartis of the ſubiectis of England ; wha ſall think them ſelues in ane happy eſtait, gif they ſuld  
 P. 78. com vnder the obedience of ſa bening a princes, wha can find in hir hart ſa weill to forgeue, when men becomes recreant. For albeit it can not be denyed bot my L. of Murray had miſuſit himſelf towardis your Maieſte, and your Maieſte has gud cauſe to be offendit with him, yet it is hard to perſwad the proteſtantis that ſome part of his greif is not for religion. This way redreſſis all ; and na doubt they that ar proteſtantis in England, will declaire them ſelues a gret deall the mair affectionit in your cauſe, when they ſall ſee men of ther awen religion clemently handled. And that your Maieſte may haue experience, that it is your aduancement that men wald by this meanis procure, and not the commoditie of them that your Maieſte is offendit with, a myd way may be folowed out ; that is, in all ſemblable cauſes the multitude is ſpaired, and the cheif authours ar principally perſewed. It may pleiſe your Maieſte to cauſe pen a lettre in gud termes and form, and publiſch the ſame by proclamation and prent, declairing the juſt cauſe of your greif againſt them ; and yet for declaration of your awen gud nature, abone ther deſeruingis, ye ar content to remit the haill, except ſic principallis as ye pleis to reſerue and except by name in the generall pardone ; with whom ye will not tak ſic ordour, quhill ye haue farther tryell and experience of ther penitence. The perſones ſo to be nominat and excepted ſall depart out of England, to what contre pleis your Maieſte, and ther to remaine during your pleaſour. In this mean tym, gif your Maieſte find that this bening vſage of your Maieſte in this be-

half, fall produce any sic fruit as is heir spoken, and ye lyk, for your Maieſte has the crymes lyand abone ther head to be perſewed and rygour execut againſt them, as pleſit your Maieſte, gif ye find it proffit-able; or than your Maieſte will extend your fauour further as ye think gud, and as ther deportementis in the mean tym deferuis; and all that fauoris them in England will trauell in your cauſe, ſa far as ther credit will extend, as gene they wer agentis for your Maieſte. They will in na wayes, gif they may eſchew it, be in the Quen of Englandis com-mown; nother by obteanyng of any fauour at your hand by hir inter-vention, nor yet for any ſupport in the tym of ther baniſſement; bot rather it may pleaſe your Maieſte, that ther chargis be tane vpon that quhilk was ther awen lyuings. Be folowing this aduylſe, quhilk in na wayes can be prejudicialle to your Maieſte, and is able to bring on a greter commoditie, your Maieſte may recouer and wone the maiſt part of the biſchoppis of England, many of the greteſt of the nobilitie and gentilmen, wha is yet newterall.”—Whais names wer declairit vnto hir Maieſte in chiffer; be whais meanis he allegit hir Maieſte ſuld obtean ſa gret ane entreis in England, that albeit that Quen wald kyeth in hir contraire, ſche nedit not to cair; for in ſending bot ane thowſand men of hir awen, out of four partis of England a ſufficient nomber ſuld jun with them, be whais foris without any ſtrangers hir Maieſte ſuld obtean that thing quhilk is wrangeouſly reſuſit and detenit.

P. 79. When hir Maieſte had muſed vpon this diſcourſe, it had gret force to moue hir, aſweill for the gud oppinion ſche had of him that ſent it, as being of hir awen nature mair inclynit to mercy then rigour; togiſther that ſche was wyſe, and perſauit a weill therby vnto the aduancement of hir affaires in England. Sche tok a reſolution to folow this aduylſe,



and to prolong the Parlement quhilk was set to forfait the lordis that wer fled. Seigneur Dauid apperit to be alsò wone to the same effect ; for my L. of Murray had futed him very earnestly, and mair humbly then any man wald haue beleued, with the present of a faire dyamont, inclosed within a lettre full of repentance, and faire promyses fra that tym fourth to be his frend and protectour ; quhilk the said Dauid granted to do with the better will, that he persauit the King to bear him litle gud will, and to glowm vpon him.

Folowing this aduise and aduertissement geuen be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, the Quenis Maieste send my brother Sir Robert Melville, to remain hir ambassadour ordinaire at the court of England ; to be redy at all occasions, incaice any thing wer traitit at the Parlement anent the succeffion, as till folow fourth the plat laid down be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun and hir vther frendis in England. In this mean tym, ther was a Frenche gentilman send hame heir, callit Mons<sup>r</sup> de Villemonte, with a commiffion to stay the Quen in nawayes till agre with the lordis protestantis that wer baniffit, becaufe that all catholik princes wer bandit to rut them out of all Europe ; quhilk was a deuyce of the Cardinall of Lorraine, laithly com bak from the concile of Trent, and had caused the King of France to wret earnestly to that effect. Quhilk vnhappy message haisted fordwart dyuers tragicall accidentis. For the Quen was laith till offend hir awen frendis in France, of the house of Guise, albeit sche wald haue done litle by her dyet then for the King of France, yet yong, only gydit be his mother whom sche had na gud cause to lyk weil of ; bot 1<sup>r</sup> Dauid was thocht alsò of oppinion, not till offend sa many confiderat catholik princes, and specially the Paip, with whom as was allegit he had some secret intelligence. Heirby the Quen



was mouit to hald fordwart the Parlement, and till forfalt the baniffit lordis, againft hir awen intention, and againft hir formair deliberation.

Now ther was a number of lordis at hame, that apperit to be frendis to the lordis that wer baniffit ; as the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindſay, and dyuers vthers gentilmen ther fauorers only for religion. Some of thir wes miscontent that ther frendis ſuld be forfeit ; vthers had vther particulaires ; ſpecially the Erle of Mortoun and his dependers fearit a reuocation that was allegit to be maid at the ſaid parlement, to bring bak again to the crown dyuers gret diſpoſitions geuen out during the Quenis minorite, and ſome benifices that wer tane be noblemen at ther awen handis, during the ciuill warres, under pretext of religion. Thir and vther particularites moued them to conſult together how to get the parlement ſtayed, and to mak a chenge in court. The Erle of Mortoun had a crafty head, and had a cuſing callit George Dowglas the poſtulat, ſone naturell to the Erle of Angus, was alſo father to Dame Margret Dowglas Contes of Lenox the Kingis mother. The ſaid George was continowally about the K. as his mother brother, and pat in his head ſic ſuſpition againft ſeigneur Daid, that the K. wes wone to geue his conſent ouer facely to the ſlauchter of ſeigneur Daid, quhilk the Lordis of Mortoun, Ruthven, Lindſay and vthers had deuyſit ; that way to be maſters of the court, and to ſtay the parlement.

The King was yet very yong of yeares, and not weill experimented with the nature of this nation. It was ſupponit alſo that the Erle of Lenox knew of the ſaid enterpryſe, for he had his chamber within the palice ; and ſa had the Erles of Atholl, Bothewell, and Huntly, wha baith eſchaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle

garding wher the lyons are ligit. This vil act was done vpon a Saturday [the 9.] of [March] in the year [1565] about tēx houres. When the Quen was at hir supper in hir cabinet, a number of armed men entrit within the clofs before the closing of the ȝetis, and tok the keyes from the porter. Ane part of them paffit vp throw the Kingis chamber, conducted be the Lord Ruthven and George Douglas the poftulat ; the reft remanit in the clofe, with drawen ſwerdis in ther handis, crying “ a Douglas, a Douglas,” for ther flougern ; for it was in the glomyng of the euenyng. The King was paft vp to the Quen of before, and was leanin vpon hir chair, when the Lord Ruthven entrit with his knappifca vpon his head, and George the poftulat entrit in with him and dyuers vther, fa rudly and vireuerently, that the burd fell, the candelis and meat and plaitis fell. S<sup>r</sup> David tok the Quen about the waift, and cryed for marcy ; bot George Dowglas pluckit fourth the Kingis dager that wes behind his bak, and ſtrak him firft with it, leauyng it ſticking within him. He geving gret ſkirlis and cryes, wes rudly reft from the Quen, wha culd not get him faif, nother for boift nor fairnes. He wes forceably drawen fourth of the cabinet, and flain in the vtter hall, and her Maieſte keped as captywe.

That ſame nycht, the Erle of Atholl, lard of Tullibardin, and ſecretary Liddingtoun, and Sir James Balfour, wer ſufferit to retein them ſelues fourth of the palice of Hallirudhouſe, and wer in ſome feir of ther lyues. The nyxt mornyng, quhilk was Sonday, I was lettin fourth at the ȝet : for I lay therin. Paſſing throw the vtter clofe, the Quenis Maieſte was loking fourth of a window, and cryed vnto me to help hir. Then I drew neir vnto the window, and aſkit what help lay in my power I ſuld mak. Sche ſaid, go to the proueſt of Edenbrough, and bid him in my name

convene the toun with speid, and com and releaue me out of thir traitours handis : “ Bot run fast,” said sche, “ for they will stay yow.” Be this was said, ane master Nisbit, maister houshald to the Erle of Lennox, was sent with a company to stay me ; to whom I gaue gud wordis, and said that I was only passing to the preching in S<sup>t</sup> Gillis kirk, for it [was] sonday ; bot I went with speid vnto the said prouest, and tald hym my commission from the Quen. He said he had another commandement fra the K. ; alwayes, that he fuld draw the people to the towbuith, and se what they wald do ; bot he loked for na help at ther handis, because the maist part of them wer sa miscontent with the present gouernement that they desyred a chengement. Yet he conuenit them in vain, and schew me ther answer ; quhilk I maid hir Maieste till vnderstand be ane of hir ladyes, whom sche send again vnto me ; and said that sche supponit that my L. of Murray and his associatis that wer yet banisfit, remanying at Newcastle in England, wald be sent for be them that wer about hir ; willing me at his commyng to admonisch and perswad him not to deffyll him self as to jun with them, bot to hald him self fre, and be hir frend at this strait ; quhilk doing fuld be his gretest weill, and wone hir loue and fauour as euer he had it. Quhilk commission I vsed at his incommyng, quhilk was vpon

P. 81. the monday ; bot he was mair moued at his meating with hir Maieste, wha embracit him and kisset him, alleging that incaice he had bene at hame, he wald not haue sufferit hir to haue bene sa vncourtefly handlit ; quhilk mouit him sa, that the teares fell from his eyn. He knew also that it was not for his cause, bot for ther awen particulairs, that the maist part of them maid that enterpryse ; yet he and his company kept the day to the quhilk they wer sumondit to the parlement.

In the mean tym the King repented his foly ; wherupon hir Maieſte tok occaſion till perſwad him till abandone the lordis, that had committed ſa odyous a crym as to put hir in hazard of hyr lyf, together with his barne that wes in hir wamb ; neuertheles ſche wald forgeue them, and mak them ſic ſecurite as they wald deuyſe. The L. enterpryſers ſeing the K. wone, and my L. of Murray not ſa frak for them as they ſupponit, wer fain to do the nyxt beſt, and let a maner of a pacification he pennit ; quhilk wes dyuers times wreten ouer again, to put in and out certane headis and clauſes, to dryue tym vntill the wret mycht appear plauſible and at a point. Hir Maieſte cauſed the K. to aduſe them to diſcharge the gard that keped hir, that ther ſecurite mycht be paſt, ſche being at liberte, or elis it wald not auail them. Sa that nycht, quhilk was Tuifday, they went all to ther reſt ; bot the Quen, with the K. and Traquair, and Arthur Alkin maſter ſtabler for the tym, paſt out of Halyrudhouſe at mydnycht towardis the caſtell of Dombar, and left word with ane of hir ladys to me, that I ſuld be ernest to keip my L. of Murray in tune not to jun with the reſt of the lordis ; wha the nyxt mornyng fand them ſelues far diſappointed without any apperance of a dreis or pacification. In the mean tym hir Maieſte vſed deligence to fend out of Dombarre Meſter Jhon Hay Abbot of Bamirinoch, to my L. of Murray ; willing him to tak my help to draw my L. of Murray vtterly from the lait offenders, and in ſa doing, to be pardonit, he and all his part takers. They on this maner being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, wer compellit to flee in England, to the New-caſtell, wher in a maner they mycht find the other lordis neſtis yet hait.

A few dayes of before, my L. Duc, my Lordis of Argyll, Glencarn and Rothes had obtenit ther pacification ; for they wer deuydit during

ther baniffement, and hir Maieſte thocht not meit to haue ſa many lordis in hir contraire ; as now again, when the Erle of Murray was drawn fra the Erle of Mortoun and his marrowes, becauſe he had a gret frendſchip and dependance for the tym ; that ſche mycht the eaſelier be reuengit vpon the laſt maift deteſtable dede, as till mourther hir ſaruant in hir prefens, ſche being gret with chyld ; done apperantly to cauſe hir and hir bairn baith be diſtroyed ; wheras they mycht haue ſlane the ſaid David in any vther part at any tym they pleaſit. My L. of Murray and his dependers deſyred me to cary his humble thankis and conſent vnto hir Maieſteis deſyre, and how that he had diſcharget him ſelf vnto them that had committed the laſt odious crym ; and wald promyſe hir Maieſte never to haue to do with them, nor trauell for them.

I met hir Maieſte comnyng from Dornbar to Haddingtoun, and was wery fauourably receaued, with gret thankis for my continowell cair of hir honnour and weilfaire ; and that nycht in Haddingtoun, ſubſcryuit dyuers remiſſions for my L. of Murray and his dependers ; lamenting vnto me the Kingis folly, vnthankfulnes and miſbehauour, and alſo of my L. of Lenox part ; quhilk I ſupponit had bene pardonit, and I excuſed the beſt I mycht be raifoun of his youth, and layed the wyet vpon George Douglas and vthers ; preing hir Maieſte, for many neceſſary reſpectis, to remoue out of hir mynd all eyleſtis againſt him, ſeing that ſche had choſen him hir ſelf againſt the oppinion of many, and promyſed hym fauour again of new. Bot I culd perſaue nothing bot a gret gruge that ſche had in hir hart. That nycht in Haddingtoun, the K. inquiryt at me gene my L. of Murray had wreten vnto him. I ſaid that his letter to the Quen was wreten in haift, and that he eſtemed the Quen and him bot ane. He ſaid, he mycht haue wreten alſo to me. Then he

P. 82. inqyred what was becom of Mortoun, Ruthven and the rest of that company. I said, I beleued they wer fled, I wist not wher. He said, "as they haue brewen, so let them drink." It apperit that he wes fōry that he had left them, finding the Quenis fauour bot cauld. The nyxt day they cam till Edenbrough, and logit within the castell; wher some wer apprehendit and execut, that had bene in the clofe of the palice, and had kept the gētis the nycht that Dauid was slain.

Hir Maieſte was now far gane with chyld, and paſt to Stirling, intending to ly ther; wher the K. folowed hir, and fra that till Alloway. At lenth ſche cam bak again to the caſtell of Edenbrough, and ſome thocht that ſche fled fra his company. I trauelit ernestly to help matters between them, and was ſa importun that I was thocht ſa faſchious, that hir Maieſte deſyred my L. of Murray to reprove me, and forbid me to be famylier with the K.; wha paſt vp and down his allane, and few durſt bear hym company. He was miſlyked be the Quen, and be all them that fauorit ſecretly the lait baniſſit lordis. Sa that it was a gret pitie to ſee that gud yong prince caſten aff, wha failed rather for lak of gud conſaill and experience, then of euell will. It apperit to be his deſteny to lyk better of flatterers and euell company, then of plane ſpeakers and of gud men; quhilk hes bene the wrak of many princes, wha with gud company mycht haue producit worthy effectis.

About this tym the Quen of England was ſa ſair veſit with a het feuſer, that na man beleued any vther bot death to be the end of it, all England being therthrow in a gret perplexite. Bot a thing is to [be] markit, that twa contrary factions ther for the tym, had baith determinit, vn knawen vthers myndis, to ſend for the Quen of Scotland, and ſet the crown of England vpon hir head.



My brother Sir Robert Melville was then ambassadour ther resident for the tyme, and I serued in stead of secretaire heir at hame, because the secretairey Liddingtoun was absent in some suspition. He send hame continowally, and aduertisementis how till proced; and I again wret the answeres at hir Maiesteis direction; [*wha a litle before this tyme being at Gedbrouch, to visit the Erle Bodowell, wha wes ouerthrawn be the theues, and hurt vnto the death as wes supponit, yet he reco- uerit again to wirk greter mischeif, hir Maieste fell ther deadly feak, and maid a very wyse and discret testament, and many godly prayers, and gaif many gud documentis to my L. of Murrey; quhilk all I set out in wret, and send in England at dyuers tymes; quhilk my brother schew to dyuers noblemen and vther fauorers of hir Maieste, wha all desyred copenes of the said lettres; quhair of my brother aduertised hir Maieste, to cause me continew, alleging that it layed down dyuers euell brutis that hir ennemys spred abroad; for the dayes wer euell, and it was a busy tyme.*]

Now the Erle Bodowelis fauour increassit, quhilk miscontentit many. He and the Erle of Huntly and the Bischop of Rois invyed the fauour that the Quen schew vnto the Erle of Murray; for they wer vpon contrary courses. The Quen again knew what fauour was born vnto him

P. 83. baith in England and Scotland, and that sche wald be the better lykit in baith the contrees then for his saik; folowing and taking vp again the formair aduise and information quhilk was send in be Sir Nycolas Throgmortoun, and forget not the lait help that he had maid hir at his hamecommynge. Thir twa erles, with the foirsaid bischop, tok occasion when the tyme of hir Maiesteis birth drew neir, to perswad hir Maieste to put my L. of Murrey in ward, to remain na langer bot till hir Maieste

This sould  
haue bene  
placet ef-  
ter the  
baptysm of  
the prince,  
at this  
mark.

+



wer delyuerit of hir birth ; alleging that they wer assuredly aduertist, that he and his dependers wer myndit to bring in the baniffit lordis, euen at the very tym of hir birth. For they thoct, gif anes he wer wardit, that they suld get deuyces anew to cause him be kepit, and disgracit ay the langer the mair, when he suld not be present nor haue plaice to answer and resist ther callomnies ; quhilk hir Maieste tald me, at a meit tym to put it clean out of hir mynd, and to let hir see that it was bot a plane practys. For many of the barrons of Loudien wer frendis to the Erle of Mortoun, among the rest the lard of Elphinstoun my gud brother, whais mother was a Douglas of the house of Whittingem. Be this frendship, the Erle of Mortoun causit wret a bill vnto my syster the lady of Elphinstoun, that sche wald deall with me and perswad me to wret lettres vnto the Electour Palatin, and vther princes of my acquaintance in Germany, to suffer hym to lywe in ther contre. For my brother, be hir Maiesteis direction, preffit the Quen of England to put them fourth of hir contre ; and he durst not ga in France, wher the Quen had sa many frendis. This I schew vnto hir Maieste, and sa sche wardit him not, bot farbad me to wret in fauours of Mortoun.

Thir gelousies was among the cheiffest courteours for the tym. In the mean tym Mester Hary Killygrew was sent in heir, ambassadour from the Quen of England ; wha was in gret suspition of hir estait, for the many frendis in England that wer knawen to be fauorers of our Quen, and lykways in Yreland. The said ambassadour complanit against ane Mester Ruxbe, that was recet in Scotland, being a rebell and a papist ; declaren how that the Quen his mestres had commandit Mortoun and his complices fourth of hir contre ; quhilk was done be open proclamation, to pleise the Quenis Maieste and hir ambassadour,

that cryed out continually for hir suffring them to abyd fa lang in England. Yet as we had intelligence efterwart, they wer secretly ouerfean, with condition that they wald kepe them selues quyet.

Mester Killigrew allegit also, that the Quenis Maieſte had maid practyses with Onell in Yreland, wha had his ambaffadour presently in Edenbrough, in company with the Erle of Argyll. And thridly, he complenit of ſome diſorder vpon the borders mouit be Scottifinen. Bot the cheif colour of his commiſſion was, till confort the Quen ouer hir lait troubles, and to congratulat hir fredome and gud ſucces ouer hir wickit and rebellious ſubiectis.

It may appear ſufficiently be that Quenis formair proceadingis, how that all ther ſiſterly famyliarite was ceſſit, and inſted therof nathing bot jelouſies, ſuſpitions and hattrent; and yet they kepit ane outward dealing, for keping of nybourhead and intelligence. The Scottis ambaffadour for the tym in England had ſa gud hope that his credit was gret, for he was eſtymed ſur and ſecret; quhilk cauſed a gret number of nobilite, proteſtantis and papiftis, to communicat ther inwart myndis vnto hym. Mester Randolphe had not the lyk credit in Scotland, bot only with ſome of the ſempleſt fort of the miniſters; ther-

P. 84. for this Ruxbe was ſend in heir, to ſeem to be a zelous fauorer of hir Maieſteis richt and tytle vnto the crown of England, and to purches famylier ſpeaking with the Quen, to bring in purpoſ his frendſchip with dyuers catholikis in England, wha durſt not deall with the Scottis ambaffadour being a proteſtant, bot wald deall him ſelf between hir Maieſte and them; to eſſay what he culd draw out of hir Maieſtis mynd, to mak aduertifement again to the ſecretary Cicill; and adreſſit him vnto the Quenis Maieſte be the biſhop of Roſs, wha was

a catholyk ; the said biſhop deſyring hir Maieſte to be ſecret. What he learnt for the tyme, I can not tell, bot he wret ſindrie intelligences vnto the ſecretary Cicill, quhilk did harm ; bot it was not ſa ſecretly kept bot my brother gat knowledge therof, and alſo of a lettre that the ſecretary Cicill wret again in Scotland to the ſaid Maiſter Ruxbe, promyſen to cauſe him be rewardit, and willing him to continow. Wherof my brother be his gret intelligence was ſa weill aduertit, that he maid hir Maieſte ſoirlean therof in dew tyme, with his information alſo vnto me, to remember hir Maieſte how to convoy that matter. Sa that when Meſter Killigrew maid his complaint vpon Meſtre Ruxbis receyting and traiting in this contre, hir Maieſte cauſed him incontinent to be apprehendit, and all his chieffers and wretis ; among the quhilkis was found lykwaies the letter wreten be the ſecretary Cicill abone ſpecified. Ruxbe finding his ſyneſs diſcouert, fell incontinent vpon his knees, and granted himſelf worthy of a thouſand deathes, crauyng humbly grace and pardone. Hir Maieſte cauſed hym to be ſa ſecretly and ſtraitly keped, that the Engliſh ambaffadour culd get na intelligence how nor for what cauſe, vntill that the Quenis [Maieſte] ſchew him hir ſelf, how that vpon his complaint, to pleaſe the Quen hir gud ſiſter, ſhe had cauſed apprehend the ſaid Ruxbe ; wha ſuld be delyuerit ſa ſchone efter his retournyng, as it wald pleaſe hir ſiſter ſend for him.

Bot as this Maiſter Ruxbe was feinggeit, ſa was the complaint. Bot hir Maieſte was aduysit not to ſeem till know any wreting or practyſe maid in hir contraire be the ſecretary Cicill, to do him that ſchame, wha profeſſit be ſa many fair promyſes to be hir frend ; becauſe it was not yet tyme to caſt off intelligence, ſa lang as hir Maieſte had maiſt

proffit therby ; as wald haue prouen in effect, wer not sic vnhappy handling and chances that fell out ſchortly after.

The Quenis Maieſteis rekonyng being neir run out, hir Maieſte cauſed mak my diſpaſche for England in a redines, to annunce the gud newes of hir delyuery vnto that Quen ; leaving a blank in hir lettre, to be fillit other with a ſone or a dochter, as it mycht pleaſe God to grant vnto hir ; and to requyre the Quen of England to fend heir in hir name, ſic of hirs as ſche knew to be beſt addicted to enterdeny gud loue and frendſchip between them, to goſſuppis, for ſa ar they callit in England ; as alſo to ſatiſfie hir anent the maiſt part of Meſter Killigreues demandis in hir name.

All this whyll I lay within the caſtell of Edenbrough, preing nycht and day for hir Maieſteis gud and happy delyuery of a fair ſonne. This prayer being granted, I was the firſt that was aduertift be the Lady Boyn, in hir Maieſteis name, to part with deligence, the xix day of Junij in the year 1566, betwen ten and eleuen houres before nun. It ſtrock tuelff houres when I tok my horſe, and was at Berwik that ſame nycht. The fourt day efter I was at Londoun, and met firſt with my brother ; wha ſent and aduertift the ſecretary Cicill that ſame nycht of my commyng, and of the birth of the prince ; willing hym to kep it vp, vntill my being at court to ſchaw it my ſelf vnto hir Maieſte, wha was for the tym at Grenwitch ; wher hir Maieſte was in gret merines and dancing efter ſupper ; bot ſa ſchone as the ſecretary Cicill roundit the newes in hir ear of the prince birth, all merines was layed aſyd for that nycht ; euery ane that wer preſent marueling what mycht moue ſa ſodane a chengement ; for the Quen ſat down with hir hand vpon hir haſſet, and bourſting out to ſome of hir ladies, how that

the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sonne, and that sche was bot a barren stok. The nyxt mornyng was appointed vnto me to get audience; at what tyme my brother and I past down the watter be boit vnto Grenwitche, and wer met be some frendis that tald us how sorowfull hir Maieste was for my newes, and what consaill sche had gottin to schaw a glaid contenance; quhilk sche did in hir best apparell, and sayed that the joyfull newes of the Quen hir sisters deliuerie of a faire sone, quhilk I had sent vnto hir be Master Cicill, had recoverit hir out of a heauy seaknes quhilk had halden hir xv dayes. Therefore sche welcommit me with a mirry volt, and thankit me for the diligence that I had vsed. All this sche said before I had deliuerit vnto hir my lettre of credence. Efter that sche had red it, I declaired how that the Quen had haisted me towardis hir Maieste, whom sche knew of all vther hir frendis wald be glaidest of the gud newes of hir birth, albeit dear bocht with the parell of hir lyf; for I said, that sche was fairly handled in the mean tyme, that sche wissit neuer to haue bene married. This I said to geue hir a litle skar to mary, be the way; for my brother had infourmed me, because sche boisted somtymes to mary the Archeduc Charles of Austria, when any man preffit hir to declair a second persone. Then I requested hir Maieste to be a gossip vnto the Quen, for our commers are callit gossips in England; quhilk sche granted glaidly to be. Then I said, hir Maieste wald haue a faire occasion to se the Quen, quhilk sche had so oft desired. At this sche finyled, and said sche wald wis that hir estait and affaires mycht permit hir; and promysed to send baith honorable lordis and ladies to supple hir rowm. Then I gaue hir Maieste maist hartly thankis, in the Quenis name, for hir frendly visitation and conforting of the Quen be

Meſter Hary Killigrew. Sche inquyrit gif I left him in Scotland, and what was the cauſe of his lang tary. I ſaid, that the Quen tok hir childbed ſchortly efter his arryving, quhilk was the cheif cauſe of his delay ; bot I had in commiſſion to tell hir Maieſte ſomthing theranent, to ſatiſfie hir mynd in the mean tym ; and to thank hir Maieſte for the way putting of the Scotis rebels out of hir contre, albeit ther wer ſome bruitis, that they wer yet ſecrety kepit be ſome of hir ſubiectis ; bot I beleued not that any of hir ſubiectis durſt be ſa bald, or ſa diſobedient. Bot ſche affirmed that they wer fourth of hir contre ; and gif it mycht be vtherwayes tryed, it ſuld not paſs without rygorous puniſement.

I ſchew hir Maieſte, that vpon hir ambaffadours deſyre and complaint, the Quen had cauſed apprehend Meſter Ruxbe, and ſall cauſe hym be delyuerit vnto hir Maieſte, when euer ſche pleaſis ſend for hym. And as concernyng Onell, ſche had na dealing with him, nor knew not that ther was a ſaruand of his ſend vnto my L. of Argyll, ontill Meſter Killigrews commyng, that ſche cauſed inquyre at the ſaid Erle ; wha granted that Onell had ſend ane vnto hym, for ſome purpoſes among them ſelues, bot that ſche nother ſaw nor ſpak with that man, nor had dealing with any man in Yreland.

P. 86. Hir Maieſte apperit to be weill ſatiſfied with the matters of Yreland, and anent Maiſter Ruxbe ; bot ſche forget to ſut or ſend for him. Before I tok my leawe to return, I enterit with hir Maieſte anent the title ; for my L. of Leyceſter was become hir plane frend, and had bene twyſe in hand with the Quen of England, a litle before my commyng, to declare the Quen of Scotland ſecond perſonne ; alleging that it wald be the Quen his maiſtres greteſt weall and ſecurite ; and ſaid



in ane anger, that Cicill wald vndo all. Lykwayes the Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Penbrough and many vthers, ſchew them ſelues mair planly frendis, efter they vnderſtod the birthe of the prince ; ſa that hir Maieſteis matters in England wer for the tym far agaitwart, and I was aduysit therfore till ſay vnto hir Maieſte, that I was aſſured ſche ſtayed to declair the Quen ſecond perſonne, only vntill ſche mycht ſee ſic ſucceſſion of hir body as now God had gratiouſly granted ; preing hir Maieſte to tak the ſame gud occaſion to ſatiſfie the myndis of many, atweill in England as in Scotland, that deſyred to ſe that matter put out of dout ; and the rather becauſe that the Quen my meſtres wald neuer ſeak any richt or place in England, bot be hir Maieſteis fauour and fortherance. Sche ſaid, that the birth of the prince was to hir a gret ſpur, to cauſe the maiſt ſkilfull lawers of England to uſe gretter deligence in the trying out of that matter, quhilk ſche eſtemit maiſt juſtly to appartean vnto hir gud ſiſter ; and that ſche wiſſit from hir hart that it ſuld ga that gait. I replyed, that at my laſt being ther, hir Maieſte was vpon the ſame termes ; and that as I had brocht hir gud newes from the Quen, I wald deſyre to be ſa happy as to cary hame with me vnto hir Maieſte, the gud newes of that lang delayed declairation. Then ſche ſaid, that ſche hoppit to ſatiſfie the Quen farther in the matters, be ſic noblemen as ſuld be ſent in Scotland for the baptelime of the prince. All this I tok for delayes, and ſa tok my leaue, becauſe my brother wes to remane ther. The nyxt day, hir Maieſte ſent vnto me twa grumes of hir chamber, with hir wreting, and the preſent of a fayre chaigne.

My brother gaue me the aduys of hir Maieſteis freindis, together



with his awen instructions, how till proceed efter my hame commyng, as folowes.

“ First, that he is in sic suspition for his handling ther, be the advertifmentis of Maister Ruxbe, and practyfes of hir ennemys, that hir Maieste mon lat Mester Kelligrew vnderstand, that sicke is myndit to reteir him hame schortly ; or elis he feares to be commandit to return.

“ 2. That hir Maieste requyre the Erle of Leycifter and secretary Cicill to be sent for to be hir gossoppes, as metest instrumentis to parfyte all articles and gud offices of amytie between them.

“ Item, that Mester Killigrew be weil traited and rewardit, that he may mak gud report, till hald aff discord, that intelligence may continow ; and desyre him to declare vnto the Erle of Lecester and secretary Cicill, that it can not stand with gud frendship, to be so lang fed with fair wordis without effect.

“ Item, that hir Maieste cast not aff the Erle of Northumberland, albeit as a fearfull man and of facilitate, he delyuerit hir letter vnto the Quen of England ; nather seem to find falt with Sir Hary Percy as yet, for his dealing with Mester Ruxbe, quhilk he dois to won fauour in court, being of a contrary faction till his brother the Erle.

P. 87. “ Item, that Mester Ruxbe be weil keaped, and sent far north in a sure part, that he geue na haifty intelligence ; for he has alrede wreten vnto secretary Cicill, be Sir Hary Percy his moyen, that he can discouer all your practyfes and secretis.

“ Let my L. of Argyll enterteny Oneill as of him self, the Quen not seaming to know therof.

“ The secretary Cicill deuyfed a ftrange practyfe againft the meat-  
ing, quhilk becaufe my Lord of Leycefter difcouerit vnto the Quen  
his meftres, Cicill fterit vp the Erle of Suffix to forge a quarell againft  
him ; bot the Quen tok the Erle of Leycefters part, and fynally agreed  
them, and alfo Leycefter and Vrmond.

“ Item, that hir Maiefte fild wret twa lettres with Maifter Killi-  
grew to my brother ; the ane that he may fchaw it vnto the Quen of  
England, and the other that he may fchaw vnto the secretary Cicill.

“ Item, to aduertis my brother, what he fall do mair for my Lady  
Lenox, whais libertie mycht do mekle gud.

“ Now till conclud ; feing the gret mark that hir Maiefte fchutis  
at, let hir Maiefte be mair cairfull and circumspect, that hir defyres  
being fa neir to be obteanit, be not all ouerthrawn for lak of fecretie,  
gud handling and prencely behauour ; having fa many factious enne-  
mys lying at the wait, to mak ther profit of the leaft little apperance  
that can be maid.”

Schortly efter my hamecommying, Maifter Kelligrew the Englis am-  
baffadour obteanit his difpafche, with a frendly anfwer, to his conten-  
tement, and with a faire cheignge ; and with hym, hir Maiefte fend  
thir twa lettres folowing to my brother, be his awen aduyfe, as faid  
is, that he mycht tak occafion to let the Quen of England fe the ane,  
and Mefter Cicill the other ; partly to ferue to put fome doutis out of  
ther myndis, engenderit be Mefter Ruxbis aduertifmentis. For as I  
haue faid, the bifchop of Rois had maid the faid Ruxbis convoy vnto  
the Quen ; for nether he nor the Erle Bothuell defyred hir turnis to  
profpere vnder my brothers hand, becaufe he was not of ther faction ;

fa that be ther meanis he gat sic intelligence, as pat all hir Maiesteis procedingis anes in ane vntre, vntill my brothers extraordinair intelligence, be them that wer in gret familiarite with the Quen, maid hym foirfean to caufe apprehend the said Ruxbe, with his haill lettres and memories as said is. Sa ar many gud princes handled, and commonly ther trewest faruandis decourted, be the enuy and craft of ther factious ennemys ; for wicked men, that haue lost ther credit be tromperie and trikis, wherby they get na place to do gud seruice to princes, essayes to creip in ther fauour be wyles, flattery and vther vnlesome meanis, wherby they may decourt sic as surmountis them in vertu and honest reputation.

HER MAIESTEIS LETTRES VNTO MY BROTHER.

“ Trusty and belouit, We greit yow weill. Wheras your brother James has tald us of the frendly and fecfull aduysé, geuen vnto yow and him be Mester secretary Cicill, towardis the continuation of the amytie betwix the Quen our gud sifter and us, tending also to our awen particulier preferment, We thocht meit to send thir few lynes vnto yow, that ye mycht thank him hartly in our name, and declair vnto him our meanyng and intention, as ye find opportunitie, tueching the thre pointis that he mentionit at that tym.

P. 88. “ The first, as we vnderstand, tueching our towardnes to them of the religion ; the second, tueching strait iustice to be obserued vpon the borders ; the thrid, that we will seache na vther meanis to com vnto the succession of the crown of England, bot only be the fauour and fourth-setting of the Quen our gud sifter.

“ As to the first, ye shall answer in our name, That sen our retour-

ying out of France, we haue neyther constrained nor persecuted any  
for caute of religion, nor yet myndis to do ; ther credit with ws being  
sa manifest, that they bear the cheiffest offices, ar cheiffest of our counsell,  
and principally employed in our maist vrgent affaires befor all vthers.  
Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun can testifie what he has seene and hard,  
at his being heir, theranent, howbeit that contrary bruitis ar blawen  
abroide, be the malice and practyses of our aduersaires.

“ To the second, that concernis bordour matters ; it is maiit certain, that the principall officers on baith the fydes, ar spciall instrumentis of all the disordour ; taking occasion vpon our lait troubles, when as they persauit that we mycht not sa weill tak ordour with them as we wer willing, as now when it hath pleasit God grant vnto vs some mair quyetnes ; desyryng him also to procure at the Quen his foueranes handis, that the lyk deligence be tane for hir part, as salbe seane vsit be us ; and then we dout not bot that baith sche, he and all vthers that complanes, salbe satisfied.

" As to the thrid and laft head ; ye fall ſchaw vnto him the tenour  
of our vther lettre vnto the Quenis ſatiſfaction, and our vther frendis  
in tha partis. Sa with my frendly commendations vnto him and his wyf,  
I commit yow to the protection of the Almychyty. From the caſtell of  
**Edenbrouch** this                      of the year 1566.

“ Truly and belouit, We gret yow weill. We haue receauit gret confort and contentement, be the declairation your brother has maid vnto vs, of the Quen our gud sisters continowell affection and constant loue towardis ws ; quhilk siche has now schawen vnto yow, and your brother at his commyng, as also be hir lettres vnto our self; lykwayes

for the grant ſche has maid to be our goſſup, and promyſe to ſend ſa honorable a company of lordis and ladyes, for ſolemniffing the ſame in hir name ; wherof ye ſhall geue hir maiſt harty thankis in our behalf, and ſay vnto hir, that we deſyre nathing to be done therin, bot at hir beſt commoditie and leaſt charges ; preing hir alwayes, that the principall man that it may pleiſe hir to ſend, be ſic a one as we haue knawen be lang experience to haue bene maiſt tender and famylier with hir ; to whom we may the mair frely oppen and ſignify dyuers thingis, quhilkis we intendit to haue ſpoken be mouth vnto hir ſelf, gene God had granted our deſyred meating. As concernyng Oneill, Ruxbe, and all vther matters, we hope that Meſter Killygrew ſhall ſatiſſie hir ſufficiently ; and alſo how that we deſyre to haue na aduancement in that contre, bot be hir only meanis and help, hoping and intending ſa to direct our courſe and behauour towardis hir, as ſche ſhall haue cauſe more and more to procure ernestly and cairfully hir ſelf, all thingis that may forder our weill and aduancement in this contre, that contre, or any vther. In the quhilk eſperance, we will do our beſt to ſolow ſic thingis as may pleaſe hir, and to ſe and forbear ſic as may offend hir ; with our maiſt ſtrait command vnto yow to do the lyk at your power, ſa lang as ye remain ther, and wher euer ye be in our ſeruice, euen as I gaif yow commandement of before. Nevertheles in the mean tym, that ye enterten y ſa frendly and diſcretly as ye can, all thais of that contre as profeſſis to bear gud will vnto us and to our title ; yet in ſic

P. 89. ſort as nether ye nor they offend the Quen our gud fiſter. And gene ther chance to com vnto yow any haifty or ſeditious perſones, admoniſch them gently to ceis ; and gene they will not, ſchaw vnto them that our courſe and promyſe is ſic with the Quen, that ye mon nedes declair ther

doings and names vnto hir ; and do it in deid, gif they will not ceis. Sa it falbe knawen, that sic as is about to law discord betwen the Quen our gud sifter and us, dois it rather vpon particulair respectis and for ther profit, then for any weill of hirs, or our affaires."

Thir kind of wretings wer for the tym denyed, till ouerthrow and cast down some intelligences that wer discouerit be Ruxbe, and some bruitis that wer raised be ennemys, how that my brother be his practyes and persuations had kendlit a gret fyre, and raist a gret faction in England. He again wald not deny, bot he delt with many to won the fauour he mycht vnto the Quen his mestres, bot he wald do nothing that mycht offend the Quen of England ; and that he had commandement sa to do. Be this meanis, Mester Ruxbeis intelligences wer suppressit, and my brother sufferit to remane still in England ; wherby the Quenis frendis wer sa increasit, that many haill schyres wer redy to rebell, and ther captens alredy named be the election of the nobilite.

About this tym hir Maieste was aduertist be my brothers lettres, how that the Erle of Bedford was vpon his journey towardis Scotland, with ane honorable company, as also the ambassadours of France and Scauoy, for the baptesme of the Prince ; quhilk moued hir Maieste to pass to Stirling with the Prince, for the solemnising therof. Bot sche was still sad and pensyue, for the lait foull forfet committed in hir presens sa vnreuerently, sche being ther born Quen, and then in sic danger as to haue lost the fruit in hir womb. Sa many gret siches sche wald geue, as that it was pitie to heir hir, and ouer few wer cairfull to comfort hir. Somtymes sche wald declair part of hir greifis vnto me ; quhilk I esleyed to put out of hir mynd, be all possible persuations, in telling hir

how I beleuit that the gretter multitude of frendis that ſche had con-  
 kiſſit in England, ſuld haue cauſed hir forget in Scotland the leſſer  
 number of ennemys and vnrewly offenders, vnworthy of hir wraith ;  
 and that hir excellent qualites in clemency, temperance and fortitud,  
 ſuld not ſuffer hir mynd to be ſuppreſt with the remembrance of tha  
 vill turnis ; bot rather to bend vp her engyn be a prencely and womanly  
 behauour, wherby ſche may beſt wone the hartis of the hail people and  
 ſubiectis, baith heir at hame and a feild ; humbly requeſting hir Maieſte,  
 firſt to conſult with hir God, nyxt with hir honour, and thridly with  
 hir weill, in the eſtabliſſing of hir eſtait, and in junyng the kingdommes  
 of gret Bretagne in a happy monarchye, quhilk ſche knawes to be ſa  
 neir a point to be brocht to paſs in hir perſoun ; ſeing alſo the baniſſit  
 eſtait of the offenders ſa miſerable, not having a holl to hyd ther head  
 intill, nor a penny to by ther denner, that the maiſt noble natures wald  
 almaiſt think them ſufficiently puniſſit. How ſeamly it is till a Quen  
 to be pitifull, and a woman to want vengeance, I wald report to hir  
 awen jugement ; “and whither it be meter preſently for your honour  
 and gretnes, to ceis fra the deſyre or perſut of any farther reuenge,  
 whervpon may enſew maa diſpaired enterpryſes, or to geue plaice vnto  
 neceſſite and raiſown, to reull ouer the beaſtly paſſions of the mynd.

P. 90. Wherfore ar princes callit diuyn perſonnes ? Na prince may be callit  
 deuyn, bot ſic as draw neir vnto the nature of God, be godlynes, gud  
 gouvernement, redy to forgeue, and ſlaw to puneiſ. It is manifeſtly  
 knawen, that all wyſe princes haue na feud at ther ennemys, langer  
 then they ſe it may be neidfull for the weill of ther affaires and eſtait,  
 and can chenge ther fauour and hattrent, according to the tym and oc-



cations. Your Maieste may remember, that many thingis mycht haue bene better handlit. I speake this with loue and reuerence; your Maieste mycht bene alweill obeyed as euer was any king of Scotland, gene ye had tane sic princely cair as was requisit. Your Maieste knawes, how that be your awen expreis commandement, I schew yow lang before, what inconvenientis wer lyk to fall out, vpon the gruges and apperances that I persauit, before the slauchter of Dauid, and did what lay in my possibilite, as God is my witnes, how to caule them be etchewed and prevented; and sen syn, your Maieste repented that my oppinion for the tym was not folowed. I prey God that the lyk repentance fall not out ouer lait again. At my being in England, your aduerlaries wer beginnen to mak ther vantage, vpon vain bruitis that our westerly wyndis had blawen east among them, that my brother and I had anough a do to ding it out of the headis of dyuers, that wer diuotiously addicted to the aduancement of your title.

This commonyng began at the entre of hir supper, in hir ear in Frenche, when sche was casten gret fches, and wald not eat for na persuasion that my lordis of Murrey and Mar culd mak hir. The supper being endit, hir Maieste tok me be the hand, and past down throw the park of Stirling, and cam vp throw the town, euer raisonyng with me vpon thir purposis. And albeit sche tok hardly with them at the first, sche began till alter hir mynd, and think meit that my L. of Bedford shuld mak sut for hir rebellis; they to be banissit out of England and Scotland during hir plesour, and to be better vnto them with tym, according to ther deportementis. And for hir part, sche purposit to proceed with sic a gracious gouernement, as mycht wone the victory ouer

hir ſelf, and all hir compeditours and ennemys in tymes commyng ; as ſche had done at hir firſt hamecommyng, and quhilk ſche culd do as weill as any prince or princes in Europe.

Bot allace ſche had ouer euell company about hir for the tym. The Erle Bodowell had a mark of his awen that he ſchoſ at. Sa ſchone as he vnderſtod of hir wyſe and marcifull deliberation, he tok occaſion to be the inbringer of the Erle of Mortoun and his aſſociatis, to mak them his frendis and to fortifie his faction be them ; for apperantly he had then alredy in his mynd, to perfourm the foull mourthour of the King, quhilk he pat in execuſſion efterwart, that he mycht marry the Quen. Quhilk baith he brocht till païs, to his awen vtter wrak and confuſion ; and brocht on alſo gret trouble and miſcheif into the contre, and was the Quenis wrak at the laſt, and the hendrance of all our hope, in the haſty obteanyng of all hir deſyres concernyng the crown of England, for a tym.

P. 91. The Quenis Maieſte being aduertift, that the Erle of Bedford was com to Barwick, that far agaitwart to com fordwart to the baptelme, fend me, weill accompanied, with deligence to meit hym at Codingame ; to be his firſt convoy, and to inform him richtly of all hir proceadingis, and to ouerthrow all euell bruitis invented be the malice of hir ennemys ; all this of my awen head, be way of the lang familiarite that was betwen him and me. For as I haue ſaid, it wes a paruerfit tym, and the mair that the nomber of hir frendis increaſſit in England, the ma practyſes hir ennemys maid, and the monyer lyes they invented againſt hir. Sa that the gud erle gaif me mair credit, than he did any wrang report that was maid ; and was at this tym becom ane of the ſureſt and maift loving frendis that ſche had in England. Ther cam

with him Meſter Caro, eldeſt ſone to my L. of Huniſdain, Meſter Hattoun, greteſt in fauour with the Quen of England for the tym, and ane callit Meſter Ligniche, of all vther greteſt in fauour with the Duc of Northfolk, and a gud number of knychtis and gentilmen of Yorkſchyre, with the maiſt part of the captens of Barwick. Hir Maieſte was ſufficiently informed, be my brothers wretings to hir and me, what kynd of langage and enterenement was meateſt to be vſed and halden to the erle, Meſter Caro, Meſter Hattoun, and Meſter Ligniche.

And when all the reſt of the amballaſadours wer com, they enuyed to ſe the Engliſh men mair frendly and famylierly vſed than they; for then ſche had mair ado with England than with France, and the Frenche erle that was ſent was na courteour, bot a ſemple man; and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Morat the Duc of Scauoyes his amballaſadour, being far aff, cam efter the baptiſme. During ther being in Stirling, ther wes daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the principall banket ther fell out ane gret eyleſt and gruge amang the Engliſh men; for a Frenchman callit Baſtien denyſed a number of men formed lyk fattyres, with lang tailles and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall vpon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with muſiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing vpon all fortis of inſtrumentis and ſinging of muſick. Bot the ſattiers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to ther tailles, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in ſic ſort as the Engliſhinen ſupponit it had bene denyſed and done in deriſion of them, daſtly apprehending that quhilk they ſuld not ſeam to haue vnderſtand. For Meſter Hattoun, Meſter Ligniche, and the maiſt part of the gentilmen deſyred to ſowp before the Quen and gret banket, that they mycht ſe the better the haill ordour and ceremonies of the triumphe; bot ſa

ſchone as they ſaw the ſattires waging ther tailles or romples, they all ſet down vpon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they ſuld not ſee them ſelues ſcornit, as they thoct. Meſter Hattoun ſaid vnto me, gif it wer not in the Quenis preſens and hall, he ſuld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Baſtien, whom he allegit did it for diſpyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excuſed the matter the beſt I mycht, bot the rumour was ſa gret behind the Quenis bak wher hir Maieſte ſat, and my L. of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther faces to wit what the matter menit. I ſchew them how that it was for the ſattiers ; ſa that the Quen and my L. of Bedford had baith enough ado to get them ſatiſfied. It fell out vnſhappely at ſic a tym, and the Engliſh gentill men committed a gret errour to ſeem till vnderſtand it as done againſt them ; bot my L. of Bedford was diſcret, and interpret all thingis to the beſt.

P. 92. My L. of Bedford was rewardit with a riche chaingȝe of dyamontis, worth twa thouſand crownis ; Meſter Caro with a chaingȝe of perle, and a ring with a fair dyamont ; Meſter Hattoun had a chain with hir Maieſteis picture and a ring ; Meiſter Lignynee and fywe vther of qualite had all chaines. I wes commandit with many vthers to convoy them to the bound rod, and parted all very weill content and ſatiſfied with the Quenis Maieſte, bot lamented that they ſaw ſa litle accompt maid of the King ; and my Lord of Bedford deſyred me to requelt hir Maieſte, to interteny him as ſche had done at the beginning, for hir awen honour and aduancement of hir affaires ; quhilk I forget not to do at all occaſions.

+ Efter the baptelme and parting of the ambaffadours, hir Maieſte willing to put gud ordour vpon the borders, ſent the Erle Bodowell before,

wha in the chaife efter theues was hurt. Hir Maieſte paſt efterwart to Jedbrouch hir ſelf, wher the Erles of Bodowell and Huntly enterpryſed the ſlauchter of the Erle of Murrey; bot the Lord Hum cam ther with forces, and preuented that enterpryſe. Hir Maieſte returnit be the Merſe, and deſyred to ſe Barwik a far aff, wher ſche was honored with many ſchottis of arteillerie; and Sir Jhon Foſter warden vpon the Engliſ border cam ther, and conferrit with hir Maieſte for keping of gud ordour. In the mean tym that he was ſpeaking with hir Maieſte vpon horſbak, his curſour raiſe vp with his forther legges, to tak the Quenis horſe be the nek with his teeth, bot his forder feet hurt hir Maieſteis thy very euell. Incontinent the warden leichted aff his horſe, and ſat down vpon his knees, craving pardone at hir grace; for then all England bure hir Maieſte gret reuerance. Hir Maieſte maid him to ryſe, and ſaid that ſche was not hurt; yet it compellit hir Maieſte to tary twa dayes at the caſtell of Hum, vntill ſche was weill again. The K. folowed hir about wher ſche raid, getting na gud contenance; and therefore he paſt to Glaſco, where he fell ſeak for diſpleaſour, as was allegit, not without ſome bruit of ane il drink be ſome of his ſer-nandis.

In the mean tym the Erle Bodowell rewled all in court, and brocht hame ſome of the baniſſit lordis, and packit vp a quyet frendſhip with the Erle Mortoun. Efter that hir Maieſte cam bak till Edenbrough, ſche renewed a frendſhip again betwen the Erle of Murray, Bodowell, Huntly, Argyll and vthers. Fra that, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling to ſe the prince, and returnit again to Edenbrough; wher the K. was efterwart brocht and logit in the kirk of feild, as a plaice of gud ayre wher he mycht beſt recouer his health; bot many

ane ſuſpected that the Erle Bodowell had ſome enterpryſe againſt him. Few durſt aduertife him, becauſe he tald all again to ſome of his awen ſeruandis, wha wer not all honeſt. Yet my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney tald him, that gene he faired not himſelf haiftely out of that part, it wald coſt him his lyf; quhilk he tald again to the Quen, and my L. Robert denyed that ener he ſpak it. This aduertiffement moued the Erle Bodowell to haift fordwart his enterpryſe, and maid a train of pouder, or had maid ane of before, quhilk cam vnder the houſe wher the K. lay; and in the nycht blew vp the ſaid houſe with the pouder. Bot it was ſpoken be a paige, that the K. was firſt tane fourth, and brocht down to a laich ſtable, wher a ſaruyet was ſtopped in his mouth, and ſinored be halding in of his end, and efterwart laid vnder a tre, and blew vp the houſe.

P. 93. Every body ſuſpected the Erle Bodowell, and they that mycht ſpeak frely till vther ſaid plainly that it was he. Whervpon he drew togither a number of lordis to be a led aſſyſe, wha clengit him, ſome for fear, and ſome for fauour, and the maiſt part for commoditie. This way being maid clean, he remanit ſtill at court in greteſt fauour. My L. of Murray was retirited from the court certane dayes of before. Hir Maieſte kepit hir chamber for a quhill. I cam to the chamber dur, the nyxt mornying efter the mourther. The Erle Bodowell ſaid, that hir Maieſte was ſorrowfull and quyet; for he cam fourth, and tald he ſaw the ſtrangeſt accident that ever chancit, to wit the foudre cam out of the luſt, and had brunt the Kingis houſe, and him ſelf found lying dead a litle diſtance from the houſe vnder a tre; and willit me to ga vp and ſe hym, how that ther was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body. When I paſt ther to haue ſean him, he was layed within a

chamber, and keped be ane Sandie Durem; bot I culd not get the ficht of him.

The brut began to ryfe, that the Quen wald mary the Erle Bodo- well, wha had a fex monethes of before married the Erle of Huntlies fifter, and wald part with his awen wyf. Wherat every gud fubiet that loued the Quenis honour, and the princes furete, had fair hartis; and thocht hir Maieſte wald be diſhonorit, and the prince in danger to be cutted off be him that had flane his father; bot few or nane durſt ſpeak in the contraire. Yet my L. Heres, a worthy nobleman, cam till Edenbrough weill accompanied, and tald hir Maieſte what bruitis were paſſing throw the contre, of the Erle Bodowell murdering of the K., and how that ſche was to mary him; requeſting hir Maieſte, maiſt humbly vpon his knees, to remember vpon hir honnour and dignite, and vpon the furete of the prince, quhilk wald all be in danger of tincell incaice ſche married the ſaid Erle; with many vther gret perſuaſions, to eſchew ſic vtter wrak and inconvenientis as that wald bring on. Hir Maieſte maruelit of ſic bruitis without purpoſe, and ſaid that ther was na ſic thing in hir mynd. He aſkit pardone, and pray- ed hir to tak his honeſt meanyng in a gud part, and tok his leaw im- mediately, fearyng the Erle Bodowell ſuld get word therof. He had fifty horſe with him for the tym, and cauſed his men by aſmany new ſpeires in Edenbrough, and raid hame.

And I was about to ſaid aſnekle vnto hir Maieſte; bot in the mean tym ther cam a lettre to me fra ane Thomas Biſhop, a Scottis man that had bene lang in England, and was a gret perſwader of mony in England to fauour hir Maieſteis title, and vſed to wret oft vnto my bro- ther and me informations and aduertifementis. At this tym, he vſed



euen the lyk langage that my L. Heres had spoken, bot mair frely, becauſe he was abſent in another contre. He adiured me to ſchaw the ſaid letter vnto hir Maieſte, declairing how it was bruted in England, that hir Maieſte was to mary the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir huſband, another wyneſ huſband ; a man full of reproch and grangoir, with many vther reproches that he allegit ; quhilk brutis he wald not beleue, be raiſone of hir noble wit and qualites, and of the honorable mark that ſche ſchot at : And incaice ſche married hym, ſche wald tyn the fauour of God, hir awen reputation, the kingdomes England, Yreland and Scotland ; with many vther diſſuations and exemples of hiſtories, quhilkis wald be our lang to reherſe. I had bene abſent, and paſt to the court to ſchaw this letter vnto hir Maieſte, proteſting that ſche wald tak it in a gud part.

P. 94. Efter that hir Maieſte had red the ſaid wreting, ſche gaif it to me again, without any mair ſpeech ; bot callit vpon the ſecretary Liddington, and ſaid to him that I had ſchawen hir a ſtrange wreting, willing him alſo to ſe it. He aſkit what it culd be. Sche ſaid, a deuyce of his awen, tending only to the wrak of the Erle Bodowell. He tok me be the hand and drew me apart to ſee the ſaid wreting ; and when he had red it, he aſkit what was in my mynd ; and ſaid, “ Sa ſehone as the Erle Bodowell getis word, as I fear he ſhall, he will not fail to ſley you.” I ſayed, it was a fair matter to ſe that gud princes run till vtter wreck, and nabody to foirwarn hir. He ſaid, that I had done mair honeſtly nor wyſely. “ I pray you,” ſaid he, “ retire you with deligence, before the Erle Bodowell com vp fra his dinner.” Hir Maieſte tald him at the firſt meting, with a condition that he ſuld not do me any harm ; bot I was flowen, and was ſocht, bot culd not be

found, till my lordis fury was slaked ; for I was aduertist that ther was nathing bot slauchter, incaice I had bene gottin. Wherat hir Maieste was miscontent, and tald him that he wald cause hir be left of all hir faruandis. Then he promyted that he wald do me na harm ; wherof I being aduertist, past again vnto hir Maieste, and schew hir that sche maid me never sic a fault as to think that I had invented the said lettre, assuring hir that it cam fra the said Thomas Bischop ; and albeit it had not com fra him, I was myndit of dewty to haue said my oppinion theranent, with all reuerence and humilite. Sche said, matters wer not that far agaitwart ; bot sche had na will to enter in the termes.

Schortly efter, hir Maieste past to Stirling ; and in hir bakcommynge, betwen Lithco and Edenbrough, the Erle Bodowell wes in hir gait with a gret company, and tok hir Maieste be the brydle. His men tok the Erle of Huntly, the secretery Liddingtoun and me, and caried us captywes to Dombar ; all the rest wer lattin ga fre. Then the Erle Bodowell boisted to mary the Quen, wha wald or wha wald not ; yea whither sche wald hir self or not. Capten Blaiketer that was my taker, allegit that it was with the Quenis awen consent. The nyxt day in Dombar, I otheanit leaue to pass hame. Efterwart the court cam till Edenbrough, and ther a number of noblemen wer drawn togither, in a chamber within the palice, wher they subscryuit all, that the mariage betwen the Quen and the Erle Bodowell was very meit, he being weill frendsted in Lowdien and vpon the borders, to cause gud reull be keped ; and then the Quen culd not bot mary him, seing he had rauiffit hir and lyen with hir against hir will. I can not tell how, nor be what law, he parted with his awen wyff, sister to the Erle of Huntly.

A litle before this, my L. of Murray had defyred lifcence to pafs in France. The fecretary Liddingtoun had bene lang in fufpition abfent from court, and was brocht in again be my brother Sir Robertis perfuafion, for the gret credit and handling he had with many noble men in England, fauorers of hir Maiefties title. Albeit that he had als gret credit and moyen him felf, he wald therby efchew the maners of ambitious courteours, wha wald haue all the thankis to them felues, and may not fuffer a compaignion; he knew alfo that he was fufpected, becaufe the Erle Bodowell was his vnfrend. Alwayes he was brocht in again, and not lang efter, the Erle Bodowell thocht to

P. 95. haue flane him in the Quenis chamber, wer not that hir Maiefte cam betwen and faued him; bot he fled the nyxt day, and taried with the Erle of Atholl. As for me, I taried not at court bot now and then; yet I chancit to be ther at the mariage. When I cam that tym to the court, I fand my L. Duc of Orkeney fitting at his fupper. He faid, I had bene a gret ftranger; defyring me to fit down and foup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Juftice Clark and dyuers vthers wer fitten at the table with him. I faid that I had alrede fouped. Then he callit for a coup of wyn and drank to me, that I mycht plege him, lyk a Dutcheman. He bad me drink it out till grow fatter, “for,” faid he, “the zeall of the commoun weall has eaten you vp, and maid you fa lean.” I anfwerit, that every litle member fuld ferue to fome vfe; bot that the cair of the commoun weill appertenit maift till him and the reft of the nobilite, wha fuld be as fathers to the fame. Then he faid, I wift weill he wald find a pin for every boir. Then he fell in purpos of gentilwemen, fpeaking fic filthy langage, that [I] left him and pafst vp to the Quen, wha was very glaid of my commyng.

The mariage was maid in the palice of Halyrudhoufe, at a preach-

ing be Adam Bodowell bilchop of Orkeney, in the gret hall for the confaill vñs to fit, according to the ordour of the reformed religion; and not in the chapell at the meß, as was the Kingis mariage. Efter the mariage, he that was Erle Bodowell, and now Duc of Orkeney, was very ernest to get the Prince in his handis; bot my L. of Mar, wha was a trew nobleman, wald not delyuer hym out of his custody; alleging that he culd not, without consent of the thre estaitis. Yet he was sa oft prest be them that had the autorite in their handis, that he was put to ane strait, efter that he had maid dyuers refusis; that he maid his mean to me amang vthers, preing me to help to saif the Prince out of ther handis wha had slain his father, and had maid his vant alredy amang his famyliers, that gif he culd get him anes in his handis, he suld warrant him fra reuenging of his fathers death. I said, that I wald wis that it lay in my power to mak any help in that. He askit, gif I culd find any outgait. I answerit, that I had gud acquaintance with Sir James Balfour, and that I knew how matters stod betwen him and the Erle Bodowell; for I vnderstod be the lard of Whytlaw, that ther was some jelousies and suspitions ryßen betwen them. I assured him, as the said lard tald me, that the Erle Bodowell wald haue the house out of his handis. The Erle Bodowell and he had bene gret compaignons, and being also gret with the Quen, he gat the keeping of the castell of Edenbrough; bot efterwart wald not consent to be present, nor tak plane part with the mourthour of the K.; wherby he cam in suspition with the Erle Bodowell, wha durit not credit him na mair; sa that he wald haue had the castell out of his handis, and to haue maid the lard of Beinstoun capten therof. This my L. of Mar maid ane of his excusis, that he saw not a fur house to kepe the Prince, incaice he wald delyuer him.

Whervpon I tok occasion at my retourning to Edenbrough, to deall with Sir James Balfour not to part with the castell ; wherby he mycht be ane instrument to saif the Prince, to saif the Quen, wha was sa difdanfully handlit, and with sic reprochefull langage, that Arthour Askin and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stik hirself, "or elis," said sche, " I fall drown my self." Now said I to Sir James Balfour, that ther was na surete for him to be out of suspition, but to kep the castell in his awen handis, and to be that gud instrument to saif baith Quen and Prince, in  
P. 96. assisting the nobilite wha wer about to crown the Prince, and to persew the Erle Bodowell for the Kingis mourther. And without he tok part with them therintill, he wald be halden as airt and part of the said mourther, be raifoun of his lang famylarite with the Erle Bodowell ; and that it was a happy thing for him, that the said Erle was becom in suspition of him ; assuring hym that I had intelligence, be ane that was of the Erle Bodowelis conseill, to wit, the lard of Whitlaw, for the tym capten of the castell of Dunbar, that the Erle Bodowell was determinit to tak the castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the lard of Benstoun, Hebrown, capten therof, and then to put the Prince ther in his keping.

Sir James Balfour gaif ear incontinent to my proposition, and consented to help to persew the mourtheror with the rest, sa that the lard of Grange wald promyse to be his protectour, incaice the nobilite mycht alter vpon him ; for he and many of them had run contrary courses of before, sa that he durst not credit them. The Erle of Mar being aduertist heirof be his brother Alexander Askin, wha was trew and cairfull for the Prince saiffete, and cam secretly to me at midnycht ; for the dayes wer dangerous for all honest men. Now my

L. of Mar being continowally requyred and boasted to delyuer the Prince out of his handis, at lenth granted; with condition, only to drywe tym, that ane honest responceable nobleman shuld be maid capten of the castell of Edenbrough; because he saw na vther sure house to kepe him intill, he shuld delyuer him vnto the Quen his mother; quhilk he was not myndit to do, sa lang as he mycht resist. Albeit, he was not a gud discimulaire, bot thocht it a meit answer, to drywe a litle tym, and suage the present fury, vntill the nobilite mycht convene to persue the mourther, and to crown the Prince, as they had already concludit at a secret meting amang them selues. Quhilk was not sa secret, bot that ane of the saidis lordes maid aduertisment therof to the Erle Bodowell, how that they wer myndit to enuyron the palice of Hallirudhouse, and tak him therein. Wherupon he forget the sitting of the Prince, and was only cairfull how to saif him self; therefore he fled out of Edenbrough to the castell of Borthuik, and from that to the castell of Dombur, taking alwayes the Quen with him wher euer he went.

All Scotland cryed out vpon the foull mourther of the King; bot few of them wer cairfull how to get it reuengit, till they wer dryuen therto, be the crying out of all vther nations generally against all Scottismen, wher euer they trauelit othir be see or land. Amang vther princes, the K. of France send heir to his ambassadour, Mons<sup>r</sup> du Crok, a graif agit and discret gentilman, aduancit be the house of Guise, a wretting meruelen that sic a foull murther being committed in the persone of a king, sa few honest subiectis wer found apperantly to find falt with the same; far les to sut any sure tryall, and to se the same punisht. Whervpon the lordis that had the enterpryse in ther headis,



wer haifted fordwart to tak armes ; and in the mean tym they obligit them felues be ther handis wretis, quhilk they delyuerit vnto the said Mons<sup>r</sup> du Croc, to fend vnto the K. his maifter, that they fuld do ther vttermoist diligence to try out the authours of that foull mourther of ther King ; and in the mean tym conuenit to the number of thre thousand men, and cam first till Edenbrough, and ther set out a proclamation of ther iust quarell. Also findre lybelis wer set out, baith in rym and prose, pitifull and perswasywe, to moue the hartis of the haill subiectis to assist and tak part with sa gud a cause. The Erle Bodowell again, having the Quen in his company, conuenit a greter number out of the Merse and Lowdien, and out of all partis wher he

P. 97. had moyen or frendship, at ouer hir Maiesteis proclamation, quhilk was not weill obeyed for the tym ; and sa many as cam, had na hartis to feicht in that quarell. Yet the Erle Bodowell marched fordwart out of Dombar, taking the Quen with him, towardis Edenbrough. The Lordis again, with ther companyes, past out of Edenbrough vpon fut, with a gret earnestnes and fercenes to fecht ; baith the armyes not far fra Carbarry. The Erle Bodowelis men camped vpon the hill head, in a strenth very aduantageous ; the lordis camped at the fut of the hill.

Albeit hir Maieste was ther, I can not name it to be hir armye, for many of them that wer with hir, had oppinion that sche had intelligence with the lordis ; cheifly sic as vnderstod of the Erle Bodowelis mishandling of hir, and many indignitez that he had baith said and done vnto hir, sen ther mariage was maid. He was sa beastly and suspitious, that he sufferit hir not to pass ouer a day in patience, on making hir cause to sched aboundance of salt teares. Sa part of his awen company detested him ; vther part beleued that hir Maieste



wald fayn haue bene quyt of him, bot thocht ſchame to be the doer therof directly hir ſelf.

In the mean tym the lard of Grange raid about the bra, with a tua hundreth horſmen that cam ther with Dromlenerick, Ceffurd and Codonknowes, thinking to be betwen the Erle Bodowell and Dombar; and was myndit to mak ane onſet that way that was plain and euen, in the mean tym, that the lordis ſuld com vp the bra, to the part wher ther aduerſaris wer camped. When the Quen vnderſtod that the lard of Grange was cheif of that company of horſmen, ſhe ſend the lard of Ormeſtoun to deſyre hym to com and ſpeak with hir, vnder ſurete; quhilk he did, efter he had ſend and obtenit leawe of the lordis. As he was ſpeaking with hir Maieſte, the Erle Bodowell had apponted a foldiour to ſhut him, vntill the Quen gaif a cry, and ſaid that he ſuld not do her that ſchame, wha had promyſed that he ſuld com and return ſaifly. For he was declairen vnto the Quen, how that all they wald honour and ſerue hir, ſa that ſhe wald abandon the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir awen huſband; and culd not be a huſband vnto hir, that had bot laitly married the Erle of Huntleis ſiſter.

The Erle Bodowell harkenit and hard part of this langage, and offerit the ſingular combat to any man that wald mentean that he had done it. The lard of Grange promyſed to ſend him ane anſwer ſchortly theranent. Sa he tok his leawe at the Quen, and paſt down the bra to the lordis; wha wer content that the lard of Grange ſuld feicht with him in that quarell, for he offerit hym ſelf firſt, and ſend vp word that he wald chelenge him and feicht with him in that quarell. The Erle Bodowell anſwerit, that he was nother lord nor erle, bot a barroun, and ſa culd not be his

pere. The lyk anſwer he maid to Tullibarden. Then my L. Lyndſay offerit to feicht him, quhilk he culd not planly reſuſe, bot his hart couldit ay the langer the mair. Then the Quen ſent again for the lard of Grange, and ſaid to him, that gene the lordis wald do as he had ſpoken to hir, ſche fuld put away the Erle Bodowell and com vnto them. Wherupon he aſked at them, gif he mycht promyſe it to hir Maieſte in ther name; quhilk they willit him to do. Then he raid vp again, and ſaw the Erle Bodowell part, and cam down again, and aſſured the lordis therof; whom they deſyred to paſs vp again to the hill, and reſaue hir Maieſte; wha met hym, and ſaid, “Lard of Grange, I render me vnto you, vpon the conditions ye rehearſit vnto me in the  
P. 98. names of the lordis;” and gaif him her hand, quhilk he kiſſit, and led hir Maieſte be the brydill down the bra vnto the lordis, wha cam fordward and met hir; the noblemen vſing all dewtyfull reuerence, bot ſome of the rafcallis cryed out diſpytfully, till the lard of Grange drew his ſwerd, and ſa did ſome vthers that knew ther dewtie better, and ſtraik at ſic as ſpak vnreuerent langage, quhilk the nobilite allowed weil of.

Hir Maieſte was that nyght convoyed to Edenbrough, and logit in the midis of the toun, in the proueſtis loging. As ſche cam throw the toun, the commoun people cryed out againſt her Maieſte at the windowes and ſtaires, quhilk was a pitie to heir. Hir Maieſte again cryed out, to all gentilmen and vthers that paſſed vp and down the caſſay, declairing how that ſche was ther natywe princes, and douted not bot all honeſt ſubiectis wald reſpect hir as they aucht to do, and not ſuffer hir to be miſhandlit. Vthers again ſchew ther malice, in ſetting vp a banere or enſeigne, whervpon the K. was painted lying dead vnder a

tre, and the yong prince sitting vpon his knees, preing, "Juge and reuenge my cause, O Lord."

That same nycht, it was allegit that hir Maieste wret a lettre vnto the Erle Bodowell, and promyſed a reward to ane of hir kepers, to ſe it ſurely convoyed to Dombar vnto the ſaid Erle; calling him hir dear hart, whom ſche ſuld never forget nor abandoun for a biens, and that ſche ſend him away only for his ſaſſetie, willing him to be comforted, and to be vpon his gardis; quhilk wretting the lown deliuerit vnto the lordis, efter he had promyſed to do the contraire. Vpon the quhilk lettre, the lordis tok occaſion to ſend hir to Lochleuen to be kept, againſt promyſe as ſche allegit; and they againſt affirmyng, that be hir awen hand wret ſche had declaired that ſche had not, nor wald not, leaue nor abandoun the Erle Bodowell. Grange again excuſed her, alleging that ſche had left the ſaid Erle in effect, and that it was no meruell that ſche gaif him yet a few fair wordis; not dowting bot ſche being diſcretly handled, and humbly admoniſſit what inconvenientis that man had brocht vpon hir, ſche wald leaue him be degrees, and detest him or it wer lang. They ſaid again, that it ſtod them vpon the ſurete of ther lyues and landis; and when that tym cam, that ſche mycht be knawen to abandoun and detest the Erle Bodowell, it wald be tym then to raiſoun vpon the matter. Grange was yet ſa angry that, wer not that lettre, he had left them inſtantly; and for the nyxt beſt, vſed all poſſible deligence to mak hir and them baith quyt of the ſaid Erle; cauſing mak redy twa ſchippis till folow efter the Erle Bodowell, wha was firſt fled to the Caſtell of Dombar, and fra that failed to Schetland.

Some ſuſpectit this lettre to bene invented.

In the mean tym, hir Maieſte ſend a wretting vnto the Lard of Grange, out of Lochleuen, lamentyng that promyſe was broken vnto

hir; wherunto he anſwerit, that he had alredy reprochit the lordis for the ſame; wha ſchew vnto him a wretting, ſent be hir vnto the Erle Bodowell, promyſing amang many vther fair and comfortable wordis, neuer till abandoun nor forget him. Quhilk gif it wes wreten be hir Maieſte, as he culd ſkaircely beleue, it had ſtopped his mouth; merueling, that hir Maieſte conſiderit not, how that the ſaid Erle culd not be hir lawfull huſband, being ſa laitly before maried with another, that he had left without any cauſe of partiffing, albeit he wer not ſa hatted for the mourthour of the K. hir huſband; requeſting hir Maieſte to put hym clean out of hir mynd, or elis ſche wald neuer get the loue and obedience of hir ſubiectis; with many vther humble and loving admonitions, quhilk maid hir bitterly to weep; for ſche culd not do it ſa haſtely, quhilk lenth of tym brocht till paſs.

P. 99. Now the Lard of Grange tua ſchippis being in a redines, he maid faille towardis Orkeney; and na man was ſa frak to accompany hym as the Lard of Tullibardin, and Adam Bodowell Biſchop of Orkeney. Bot the Erle was fled from Orkeney to Schetland; wher alſo they folowed him, and cam in ſicht of Bodowelis ſchip; quhilk moued the Lard of Grange to deſyre the ſkyppers to heis vp all ther failles, quhilk they wer laith to do, becauſe they knew the ſchallow ground therabout. Bot Grange willing to com a tym, compellit the mariners; ſa that for ouer gret haift, the ſchip wherin Grange was, brak vpon a bed of ſand, without tincell of a man. Bot Bodowell had leaſer in the mean tym to ſaif himſelf in a litle boit, leaving his ſchip behind him; quhilk Grange tok, and therwith the Lard of Tallow, Jhon Hebroun of Bowtown, Dagleis and dyuers vthers of the ſaid Erlis ſeruandis. Him ſelf fled to Denmark, wher he was tane and keped in ſtrait preſone, wherin he becam mad and died miſerably. Bot Grange cam bak again with Bodowelis

ſchip and ſaruandis, quhilkis wer the firſt that gaif maift knowlege of the maner of the mourthour ; quhilk the lordis thocht meit to let the K. of France vnderſtand, and of ther deligence, as they had promyſed of before, be a lettre wreten in Frenche as foloues.

“ Sire, dedans peu de jours après que ceſte horrible tragedie qui eſt aduenu en ce pais, de la mort dufeu roy, mary de la Royne noſtre ſouueraine, par lettres que nous diſpeſchames a lheure a voſtre Maieſte, nous nous ſommes obligees de nous mettre en debuoir pour deſcouvrir les auteurs d’un ſi execrable miſfait ; eſperans bien avec le temps donner ſi bon ordre, que nous ferions bien paroître quil y a des gens de bien en Eſcoſſe, qui deteſtent lindignite du faict, et ne permetteront jamais eux viuans que ceſt malheureuſe enterpriſe demeure impunie.

“ De puis ce temps la, par lettres addreſſantes aux eſtats de ce pays, preſentees par voſtre ambaffadeur Mons<sup>r</sup> du Croc, voſtre Maieſte nous a ramontre ceſte promeſſe, nous mettant deuant les yeux la grande hunt que ce nous ſeroit a jamais, ſi vn faict ſi enorme, perpetre en la perſone du roy, demuraſt caſche. Ceſte remonſtrance, joincte avec tant d’aduertiſſemens que nous receuons de jour a autre, des Eſcoſſois qui ſont eſpars par les pays eſtrangers, nous a ſeruy d’eſperon pour nous faire entreprendre lenqueſt dudict meurtre, qui par trop a eſte differe, de ſort que toute ceſte nation en eſt aucunement diſhonore. Len nous mande de tous ceſtez, que les Eſcoſſois, tant en France qu’allieurs, ſe ſentent tant interreſſees, oyans taxer toute la nation, que pour honte ils n’oſent leuer le viſage ; ains ſont contraincts quaſi de defaduouer leur patrie, voyants la nonchallance ou connivence de ceux a qui le fait touchoit le plus ; ou pour mieux dire, La Royne par voies diſordonees

et illicites, reduicte en la puiffance du principal meurtrier. Nous auons a la longue eſte contrainctz, pour purger le royaulme de ceſte ignominie publique, de nous mettre enſemble, avec intention de deſcouvrir les auteurs et executeurs dudict meurtre. Enquoy dieu nous a ſi bien fauoriſe, qu'encores que lon auoit dreſſe la menee fort ſecretement, ſi nous eſt a ceſte heure le fait aſſez entendu, de fort quil ne ſen faut plus enquerir qui a tue le roy. Car entre beaucoup des preſumptions, et circonſtances vehementes, que des le commencement rendoit le conte de Bodowelle aſſez ſuſpect, et que ſes deportemens depuis ce temps la eſtoient baſtants pour donner a entendre a vn chaſcun quil auoit dreſſe le party ; nous ſommes maintenant plus eclaircys par la confeſſion de ſes gens meſmes, qui dieu nous a mis entre les mains, et qui pour lauoir fuyuy accompaignie et aſſiſte au fait, en peuuent bien depoſer de la verite, et des circonſtances. Par le tefmoignage deſquelz, joinct avec d'autres preuues, il eſt tout notour que le dict Conte de Bothuelle non ſeulement a faict la menee, mais auſſy pour mieux jouer ſon perſonnage, et de peur de faillire, luy meſmes a aſſiſte en perſonnee, y a mis la main, et eſte preſent a lexecution.

“ Des occurrences de puis, et comme le tout eſt paſſee, voſtre ambafſadeur Mons<sup>r</sup> du Croc pourra plus amplement aduertir voſtre Maieſte, comme celluy qui pour eſtre employe pourv oſtre ſeruice pardeça, nous auons voulu infourmer au longue de la juſtice de noſtre cauſe. Supplians treſhumblement voſtre Maieſte, du prendre en bonne part noſtre reſolution, fondees ſur tant des cauſes legitimes, et ne vous laiſſer perſuader a ceux qui, pour laſſection quilz portent au meurtrier, voudront peut eſtre deprouuer noz actions, et vous donner a entendre que nous aſpirons a des choſes a quoy nous ne y auons jamais penſee. Quant a

nous, vostre Maieſte ſe pourra bien aſſurer, que nous ne ferons jamais que le debuoir des gens de bien, et quil ne y a ſubiects en Eſcoſſe qui, de meilleur coeur, ſ'efforceront de tant qui ſera en noſtre puiſſance, et ſelon le moyen que dieu nous a donnee, de ſeruir a vostre Maieſte, et de conſeruer l'union des deux coronnes, que ſi longue temps a continue au grand proffit et ſeurete de toutes les deux ; comme nous ferons tous-jours paroître par effect, quand vostre Maieſte nous fera ceſte honneur de nous commander quelque choſe pour ſon ſeruaice."

P. 101. My Lord of Murray had obtainit licence to paſs in France, ſhortly eſter the mourther of the K. ; for he ſoirſaw the gret troubles that wer able to fall out vpon the ſame ; for he had promyſed never to com in the Quenis contraire.

The reſt of the Lordis enterpryſers, eſter that they had put the Quen in Lochleuen, began to conſult how to get hir Maieſte perſuadit to demit the gouvernement to the Prince hir ſone ; and to that effect they delt firſt with my brother, becauſe he had acces ſome tymes to ſee hir Maieſte. Eſter that he had reſuſed platly to medle in that matter, they wer myndit to ſend the L. Lindſay, firſt to uſe faire perſuaſions, and incaice he cam na ſpeid, to enter in harder termes. The Erles of Atholl, Mar, and ſecretary Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange, wha louit hir, aduytled my brother to tell hir the verite, and how that any thing that ſche dois in priſoun, can not preiuge hir, being at liberte. He ſaid, he wald not perſuad hir, nor ſpeak nathing bot as hir trew and faithfull ſaruand ; alwayes, he ſaid, he ſuld tell hir the oppinion of ſa many as wer hir frendis. Bot ſche reſuſed vtterly till folow ther aduyſe therintill ; bot when ſche hard that the Lord Lindſay was at the



new houe, and was upon a boisting humour, sche yeldit to the neecessite of the tym, and schew my brother that sche wald not strywe with them, feing it culd do hir na harm when sche was at libertie. Sa at my L. Lindlays commyng, sche subscrywit the signatour of renunciation and demission of the gouvernement to the Prince; and certane lordis wer named in the said signatour, to be regentis to the Prince and contre, euery ane efter vther; hir Maieste desyryng my L. of Murray, wha was absent in France, to be the first regent.

This being past, the lordis concludit to crown the Prince; and send lettres in France for the Erle of Murray to com hame. In the mean tym, ther was a number of lordis convenit at Hamiltoun, as my L. Hamiltoun, my Lord of Pacely, Jhon Hamiltoun bisshop of Santandrowes, my L. Flemyng and Boid, and vthers dyuers. To whom the lordis that wer to crown the Prince wald haue send me; quhilk commission I refused at the first, till the secretery Liddingtoun, lard of Grange, and vthers secreet fauorers of the Quen, aduysed me to tak in hand; alleging that it was meit to jun all the contre together in quyetnes, and said that incaice that ciuell warres entret amang our selues, that it wald put the Quenis lyf in danger; for they that wer at Hammiltoun, apperit to lean unto the Quen. At my commyng to Hammiltoun, I tald them my commission, in the name of the vther lordis; how that the K. being mourtherit, all nations nybours cryed out vpon the haill nation, bot specially the K. of France and Quen of England admonissit them to tak tryell and to punis the mourtherers. How they had found that it was the Erle Bodowell, wha was fled, and some of them that had assisted him punished; and what was past sen syn therupon, was manifest to the haill contre. Now the Quenis Maieste had demitted ouer the

gouvernement to the Prince hir sone, whom they wer myndit to crown schortly ; wherof they thocht meit to warn all the nobilite, as being myndit to hurt na man, nor to prejugé any nobleman in ther rychtis, tytles, or prerogatyues ; requesting them that wer ther conuenit, to com to Sterling and be present at the said coronation, for ther awen preueleges, weill and quyetnes of the haill contre.

P. 102. Some of the yougest lordis answerit and said, that they wald not beleue that the Quenis Maieste had demitted the gouvernement ; and gene siche had done it, it wald be found for fear of her lyf. Bot the bischop, that was better experiment, reproued them, and said that it was a very raisonable and discret dealing of tha noblemen ; and drew the rest apart till aduysé, and then cam again ; and he declaired ther answer and said.

“ We ar behalden to tha noble men wha has sent you with that frendly and discret commission ; and folowing ther desyre, ar redy to concure with them, gif they mak us sufficient securite of that quhilk ye haue said in ther name. In sa doing, they geue us occasion to suppon the best of all ther proceedingis past and to com ; sa that gene they had maid us fairsean of ther first enterpryse, to the punisshement of the mourther, we suld haue tane plane part with them. And wheras now we ar heir conuenit, it is not till persëw or offend any of them ; bot to be vpon our awen gardis, vnderstanding of sa gret a concourse of noblemen, barrons, bourroues and vthers subiectis. Not being maid preuy to ther enterpryse, we thocht meit to draw us together, till we mycht se whertu thingis wald turn.”

When I returnit bak to Stirling, and declaired the answer, quhilk was thocht very gud be all wyse and paiseable myndit men ; bot vthers said again, that howeuer they myndit to do, I had panted out a faire

tail for them and in ther fauours. Sa that I perfauit them alredy denydit in factions and in oppinions; for ſamany of our lordis as leanit to England, defyred not the ſtabilitie of our eftait; others had particulairs againſt the Hammiltons, and ſupponit to get them wraked, therby to won vantages be fiſching in dromly watters. Sa that the Hammiltouns wer euell vſed then; for they wald fayn have agreed with the reſt, bot ther frendſchip and ſociete was planly refuſed at this tym, and wer not admitted to com vnto the coronation, nor yet to tak inſtrumentis that they ſuld not be prejudged in any fort; quhilk maid gret trouble efterwart in the contre. For they perſaving them ſelues caſten aſſ, and ther frendſchip and aſſiſtance refuſed, maid the moyen and practiques that they mycht, for ther awen ſurete and deffence; and ſic vther noblemen as fauored them, and wer not yet junit with the new enterpryſes, wer the eaſelyer drawn vpon that ſyd, that wer efterwart callit the Quenis lordis, when they vnderſtod of ſic diſdainfull proceeding with the Hammiltouns.

My Lord of Murray, wha was wreten for to com hame, as I haue fayed, ſa ſchone as he cam to Londoun, aduertifment was maid vnto the lordis; wha defyred me to ryd and meit him at Berwik, and ſchaw him how that the office of regency was appointed for hym. Quhilk voyage I accepted with the better will, that ſome frendis that wer beſt inclynit, thocht meit to geue him gud counſaill in dew tym. The commiſſion fra the lordis was to inform him of all ther proceedingis, and of the preſent eftait; and to will him do nathing by them, ſpecially with the Quen. For they fearit that he wald do, as any vther wyſe man wald haue done, in reſpect that he had not offendit the Quen of lait, that he mycht parchance keip hir in hand, in gud hope ſome day

of releif, and not run fa hard a courſe againſt hir, as the maiſt part of them wer myndit to do.

P. 103. Another ſort of the ſaidis lordis, that bure ſtill a gret loue vnto the Quen, and had compaſſion of hir eſtait, and had entred vpon that enterprys only for the ſaiffety of the Prince, and puniſſement of the Kingis mourther, as the Erle of Mar, the Erle of Atholl, the ſecretary Liddington, the lardis of Tullibarden and Grange, ſend ther inſtructions with me to my L. of Murray; praying him in ther name, to bear him gently and humbly vnto the Quen, and to get fa mekle fauour of hir as he culd. Not that they wald wiſs hym forget any part of honeſt dewty to the lordis, fa lang as they kepit taecheis with hym; bot that incaice that they, or part of them, wald ſtart at him efterwart, for the refuſell of ſome caſualite, benefice or for ſome vther particularites, they wald com to them ſelues again, ſeing the Quen and hym in fa gud termes, for fear that he wald ſet hir to libertie be occaſion of ther milbehauour. And farther, that hir Maieſte being now fre of euell company, and of a clear wit and princely inclynation, was begynnen alreedy to repent hir of many thingis paſt, the tym mycht bring on ſic ane occaſion, that they wald all wiſs hir at libertie to reull ouer them; then what had he tint, for his diſcret and frendly behauour to hir.

He apperit to lyk very weill of this aduyle, and promyſed that he ſuld folow it fourth, howeuer it wer; bot to accept vpon him the regiment, he wald not grant at the firſt, bot refuſit it planly. Albeit, I was infourmed with ſome of his company, that he was rycht glaid when he firſt vnderſtod that he ſuld be Regent. Ther cam hame with him a Frenche ambaffadour of my acquaintance, callit Mons de Lingueroles.

He was fend to fe the faffion, to confort the Quen captywe, and to request for hir ; bot slenderly, for he said to the lordis, that he cam not till offend any of them ; alleging that the auld band betwen France and Scotland, was not packit vp with any a prince, bot betwen the estaitis of France and Scotland, and with them that wer commanders ouer the contre for the tym.

Efter that my L. of Murray had met with all his frendis, he granted to accept the regyment. Bot when he past to fe the Quen in Lochelueu, in steid to confort hir, and to folow the gud counsaill that he had gottin, he entrit instantly with hir Maieste in reproches, and sic injurious langage as was lyk to brek hir hart ; and sa many of us as fand falt with that maner of proceeding, tint his fauour. The injuries wer sic, that it cutted the thred of loue and credit betwen the Quen and hym for euer.

Ye haue hard how that the lordis that wer in Hamilton wer casten aff, and refused to be accepted in societie with the rest, against the oppinion of the fewest nomber, wyfest men and least factious. Bot the worst inclynit and manyest votes obteanit ther intentis ; wherupon the lordis that wer refused in frendship, drew them selues together at Dombartan, vnder the coulour to procure be force of armes the Quen ther soueranis libertie ; and bandit them selues together against the Kingis lordis, whilk they wald not haue done, gif they culd haue bene accepted in societe with the rest.

P. 101. Albeit that, the publik professing of the saidis lordis to wair all ther lyues for the Quenis liberte, pat hir Maiesteis lyf in greter danger sa lang as sche was captywe in the handis of ther contrair partie, and at lenth was hir Maiesteis vtter wrak. For the hope that sche had to get

frendis and fauourers anew, caulēt her mak hir moyen to eschaip outt of Lochleuen ouer hastely, or euer the tym was ryp enough to restore again the hartis of the subiectis that wer yet allianit ; for albeit my L. Regent was rygorous, he was facill, and mycht haue bene won with proces of tym be hir wilidome, and the moyen of hir frendis that wer in his company.

THE COPIE OF THE BAND MAID AT DOMBERTAN BE THEM  
THAT WER CALLIT THE QUENIS LORDIS.

“ For samekle as confidering the Quenis Maieſte our ſouerane to be detenit at this preſent in Lochleuen in captiuite, wherthrow the maiſt part of hir Graces lieges can not haue fre acces to hir hyenes for doing of ther leiſfull buſynes, and be raiſoun it becommes us, of our dewty, to ſut hir liberte and fredome ; We erles lordis and barrons vnderſubſeryuit, promittis faithfully to mak our exact diligence, be all raiſonable meanis, to ſut hir Maieſte to be put to liberte and fredome, vpon ſic honeſt conditions as may ſtand with hir hyenes honour, the commoun weill of this haill realm, and ſecurite of the haill nobilite of the ſamyn ; and with the ſecurete of the noblemen wha preſently has hir Maieſte in keping ; wherthrow this our natywe realm may be gouernit, rewled and gydit, be hir Maieſte and hir nobilite, for the commoun quyetnes, adminiſtration of juſtice, and weill of the contre. And incaice the noblemen wha has hir Maieſte preſently in ther handis, reſuſes to put hir to liberte, vpon ſic raiſonable meanis and conditions as ſaid is, in that caice we ſhall employe our ſelues, our kyn and frendis, ſeruandis and partakers, our bodyes and lyues, to put hir hynes to libertie as ſaid is ; and alſe to concure to the puniſſement of the mourther of

the K. hir Maieſteis huſband, and for ſur preſervation of the perſone of the Prince, as we ſhall anſwer to God and on our honours and credit ; and to that effect ſhall concure, euery ane with vther, at our vtter power. And gene any ſhall put at us or any of us for the doing of the cauſes foirſaidis, in that caice we promit faithfully to tak eſauld part, euery ane with vther, vnder the pain of perjurye and infammye, as we will anſwer to God, as ſaid is. In witnes of the quhilkis, we haue ſubſcryuit this preſent with our handis. At Dombartan the day of

St Androwes. Argyll. Huntly. Arbroith. Galloway.  
 Roſs. Flemyng. Lord Herys. Skirling. Kilwynnyng.  
 Wilyem Hammiltoun of Sancher Knycht."

Thir few nomber wer the firſt that bandit them ſelues together ; and efterwartis all them that wer malcontentis, or had any particulair queſtion, clame or feid, with any of the Kingis lordis, drew to thir new confideratis ; hoping with tyme to won ther intent againſt ther aduerſaries, incaice ther faction mycht preuaill ; and ſome drew to baith the factions, that deſyred never to ſe nother K. nor Quen in ane eſtabliſſit eſtait.

P. 105. The court of England, again, left nathing ondone to kendle the fyre, and to fournish baith the factions with ſome hope of aſſiſtance in a neid. For oft tymes, by ther ambaffadour ordinair that was reſident heir, they vpon ſome new occaſion wald ſend in another, oppenly to deall with the kingis faction, becauſe it was ſtarkeſt and greteſt ; and vnder hand to deall with the Quenis faction, and allege that ther quarrell was maiſt juſt and rycht, and that hir Maieſteis autorite was



only lawfull. Na man can tell this better nor I, that was fà lang acquainted with all the ambassadours that wer fend in Scotland for the tym, during ther baniffement in France in the tym of Quen Mary ; as with Master Randolphe, Sir Nycholas Througmorton, Mester Danifoun, Thomvorth, . . . Drury . . . and the Marchall of Barwik. Amang the quhilk nomber, Sir Nycholas Througmorton delt maist honestly and planly ; for he schot at the vnion of this hail yll in ane monarchie, and thocht that it consifted only in the perfones of twa for the tym, to wit, the Quen and King hir sonne. And when he saw Master Randolphe go about to saw discord, he declaired the same to my brother and me, and detested him for his deuellisch intent and dealling. Yea, he detested the hail counsaill of England for the tym, and tald us frendly what reafonyng they held amang them selues to that end ; to wit, how that ane of ther fyneft consellours proponit openly to the rest, that it was neidfull for the weilfaire of England, to foster and nurish with some help the ciuill wairres, asweill in France, in Flanders, as in Scotland ; wherby England mycht kep many aduan- tages, and be suttet and focht of all the parties ; and in the mean tym lywe in rest, and gather gret riches them selues. This aduyse and proposition was weill allowed of the maist part of the counsaill, yet a honest consellour stod vp, and said that it was a very warldly aduyse, and had litle or nathing ado with a christen commown weall, nor ȝet wald not be found profitabile in all pointis. “ Firft,” he said, “ ipeak- ing warldly and not godly, I grant that France, quhilk is fà potent a kingdome, gene it knew the awen strenth, mycht suppress all ther ny- bours, and therfore wald be fà handlit ; bot ther the fyre wald dye out incontinent, except the Prince of Conde wer better fourniffit and

helpit." As for Flanders, he said that ther trouble was hurtfull to England, be raisoun that England hes greteft commoditie be the traffic of marchandise, quhilk is henderit and stayed be the warres of Flanders, wher they had cheiffest handling. As for Scotland, he said it was agaiust ther weill to hald them in discention, sa lang as my lord of Murray wes ther Regent, wha was ther frend, and wald be redy to assist them in a neid at his power. Another thrid confellour affirmed that to be trew; bot gene my L. of Murrey wer dead, lykwayes Scotland aucht to be halden gangen. Quhilk conclusion wes commenly folowed fourth efterwart; schone persauit be the wylest that wer not factious, bot ouer lait be the rest of the raging multitude, wha wer with tym sa bitterit agaiust other, and sa annymat or the pley wes endit, that they wald haue eaten vther with ther teeth.

P. 106. Now my L. of Murray having accepted the gouvernement vpon him, preffit to get the strenthes in his handis, as the castellis of Edenbrough, Dombur and Donbertan. The castell of Edenbrough wes still in the handis of Sir James of Balfour, wha had assisted the noblemen that perseued the mourther, and now tok plane part with them, and lykwayes to assist the new maid Regent. Yet the Regent desyred to haue the castell out of his handis; quhilk he was content, with condition that the lard of Grange suld be maid capten therof, on whais constant frendship he reposed maist; quhilk wes easely granted be the Regent and all the rest. Efter this, Dombur was also renderit to him, be the lardis of Whitlaw and Wachtoun. Then he tok gret panes to steall secreet raidis vpon the theues, and held Justice aires in the In contre; bot tok na cair how to setle the differentis and partialites among the nobilite, and to draw them, be ane discret and equitable be-

haour, to the obedience of the Kingis autorite. Quhilk mycht haue bene easely done, letting them se securete for ther personnes, and outgaitis for the weall of ther affaires and actions. Bot sic as fell about hym, for ambition and gredines, wald not suffer hym sa to do, thinking to be maid vp be the wrak of vthers; and wer sa blindit be ther affections and gredy appetitis, that they thocht all wald succed prosperously to ther pretences without any resistance. Sa rushing forward, the Regentis such proceedingis, vncircumspectly and proudly, gaif occasion to many to draw to the contrair faction; and to make practises how to draw the Quenis Maieste out of Lochleuen, before the tym was ripe to set forward ther particularites against the Regent and his partisans. Wherof the Regent was oft and dyuers tymes warnit, euen be dyuers that wer vpon the counsaill of hir out taking, wha desired to won thankis at his handis; bot he wald credit nane, bot sic thingis as com out of the mouthes of them that had cropt in his confidence and fauour be flatterie.

In the mean tym, the Quen was convoyed out of Lochleuen be George Douglas, the lardis brother and the Regentis half brother, wha was for the tym in some euell termes with them. The auld lady his mother wes also thocht to be vpon the counsaill. My L. Ceatoun, and some of the house of Hammiltoun, and dyuers vthers of ther dependers, resauit hir Maieste at her landing out of the loch, and convoyed hir to Hammiltoun.

The Regent being for the tym at Glasco holding Justice aires, proclamations and missywes wer incontinent maid, and send be baithe the sydis to conven samany as wald do for them in the contre. Ane Frenche ambassadour wes com to Edenbrough ten dayes before, callit

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Beaumont, knycht of the ordour of the cocle ; who I had conveyed to Glasco, and procured that he mycht se the Quen captywe, in vain. He said to me that he neuer saw sa mony men conuenit sa foldainly ; for he raid to Hammiltoun to the Quen, and delt between the parties for paice, bot was not hard. Hir Maieste was not myndit to feicht, nor hazard bataille, bot to pass vnto the castell of Dombertan, and draw hame again to hir obedience, be litle and litle, the hail subiectis. Bot the bischop of St Androwes and the house of Hammiltoun, with the rest of the lordis that wer ther conuenit, finding themselves

P. 107. in number far beyond the other party, wald nedis hazard the battaill ; wherby they mycht ouercom the Regent ther gret ennemy, and be also maister of the Quen, to command and reull all at ther plesour. Some allegit, that the bischop was myndit to cause the Quen marry my L. Hammiltoun, incaice ther fyd wan the victory ; and I was informed sen syn, be some that wer present, that the Quen hir self fearit the same. Therefore sche preffit them still to convoy hir to Dombertan, and had send me word with the Frenche ambassadour, also caused my brother Sir Robert to wret a letter vnto me, the same mornyng before the battaill, to draw on a commownyng for concord, be the meanis of the secreтары Liddingtoun and the lard of Grange ; and for hir part, sould send the Lord Heris and some vther. Bot the Quenis army cam forduart sa ferceely that ther was na stay.

The Regent went out vpon his fut, and all his company, saving the lard of Grange, Alexander Hum of Manderstoun, and some borderers to the number of tua hundreth. The lard of Grange had alreedy vewed the ground, and with all possible diligence caused euery horsman tak on a futman of the Regentis gard behind them, and raid with speid to

the head of the Langfyd hill, and set down the said futmen with ther culuerings at a strait lon head, wher ther war some coit houfles and gardis of gret aduantage; quhilkis foldiours, with ther continuell schot, dropped down dyuers in the vangard led be the Hamiltons, wha for ther curage and fearcenes ascending wp the stay bra, wer already out of wind when the Regentis vangard junit with them; wher the worthy L. Hume facht vpon fut, with his pik in his hand, very manfully, weill assisted be the lard of Sefford his gud brother, wha helpit him vp again, when he was striken to the ground aff his feit, with many straikis vpon his faice, with the castyng of tume pistoles efter they wer schot, also with staues and flacons, and many straikis with spaires throw his leggis. For he and Grange cryed, at the juning, to let ther aduersaries lay down first ther spaires, to bear vp thers; quhilk spaires wer sa thik fixit in vthers jackis, that some of the flacons, pistollis and gret staues that wer thrawn be them that wer behind, mycht be seane lyand vpon the spaires.

Vpon the Quenis fyd, the Erle of Argyll commandit the battaill, and the lord of Arbroith the vantgaird. On the vther part, the Regent led the battaill, and the Erle of Mortoun the vantgaird; bot the Regent committed vnto the lard of Grange, the speciall cair, as ane experimented capten, to ouerse every danger, and to ryd to euery wing, and encourage and mak help wher gretest neid was. He persauit at the first junyng, the rycht wing of the Regentis vantgard put bak and sattill lyk to fle, wherof the maist part wer commons of the barronnye of Ranthrow. He cam to them, and tald them that ther ennemys wer already turnyng bakis, that wer behind the rest, and requested them to stay and debait. vntill he had fetched them fresche men fourthe of the

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battaill ; wher he raid in diligence his allain, and tald the Regent, or allegit that the ennemys wer skailen and fleing away behind the litle vilage, and desyred a few nomber of fresche men till com with him ; wher he fand anew willing, as the Lord Lindsay, the Lard of Lochleuen, Sir James Balfour and all the Regentis faruandis, that folowed him with deligence, and renforced that wing quhilk was begiunnen to fle. Quhilk fresche men, with ther lowse weapons, straik ther ennemys in ther flankis and faces, quhilk forcit them incontinent to geue place and turn bakis, efter lang fechting and poussing vthers tu and fra with ther spaires. Ther wer not many horfmen till persew efter them, and the Regent cryed to saif and not fla, and Grange was never crewell ; sa that ther wer bot a few flane and tane, and the only slauchter was at the first renconter, be the schot of the soldiours that Grange had planted at the lon head behind some dykis.

Efter the tincell of this battaill hir Maieste tint curage, quhilk sche did neuer befor, and tok sa gret fear that sche rested neuer vntill sche was in England ; thinking hir self assured of refuge ther, in respect of the many fair promys maid be the Quen of England, be wordis to hir ambassadours, and be wretingis with hir awen hand, baith before and efter that sche was kepit captyue in Lochleuen. Bot God and the world wottes how sche wes keped and vsed ; for not only sche wald not se hir of whom sche seamed sa oft to desyre a sicht and a meating, bot allso caused kep hir prissoner, and at lenth [*tuik her lyf*] sufferit hir lyf to be tane, or elis was subtilly tane against hir intention.

This puttis me in remembrance of a taill that my brother Sir Robert tald me, the tym that he wes busyest dealing between the twa Quenis, to interteny ther frendship, and draw on ther meting at a part besyd

York callit . . . . . Ane Bassentin a Scottis man, that had bean trauelit, and was learnit in hich scyences, cam to him and said ; “ Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of yow that I loue yow hartly, and therefore can not forbear to schaw yow, how that all your vprycht dealing and your honest trauell wilbe in vain, wher ye beleue to obtean a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. Ye bot tyn your tym ; for first they will neuer meit together, and nyxt ther will neuer be bot dissembling and secret hattrent for a whyll, and at lenth captiuite and vtter wrak for our Quen be England.”

My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic deuilsch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false vngodly and vnlawfull for Christiens to medle them with. Bassentin answerit again ; “ Gud Mester Meluill, tak not that hard oppinion of me. I am a Christien of your religion, and feares God, and purposes neuer to cast my self in any of the vnlawfull artis that ye mean of, bot sa far as Melanthon, wha was a godly theologue, has declaired and wreten anent the naturell scyences, that ar laifull and daily red in dyuers Christien vniuersites ; in the quhilkis, as in all vther artis, God geues to some les, to some mair and clearer knowlege then till vthers ; be the quhilk knowlege I haue also that at lenth, that the kingdome of England fall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther ar some born at this instant that fall bruk landis and heritages in England. Bot alace it will coist many ther lyues, and many bludy battailes wilbe fochten first or it tak an sattedel effect ; and be my knowlege,” said he, “ the Spaniartis wilbe helpers, and will tak a part to themselves for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leaue again.”

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P. 109. Efter that the Quenis Maieſte had demitted the gouvernement, when ſche was captywe in Lochleuen, in ſic maner as is rehearſed, my L. of Murray being the firſt of the Regentis, of whom I haue ſaid ſome thing alredy ; I intend now till folow fourth and ſchaw a part of his proceedingis, and to begin wher I left, at hir Maieſteis retrait in England.

Efter the battaill of Langfyd, the ſaid Regent paſt throw the contre, and tok vp the eſcheitis and houſes of them that had aſſiſted at the ſaid battaill ; and cauſed caſt down dyuers of ther houſes, and diſponit all ther landis to his ſaruandis and dependers.

The conſaill of England being crafty, and the ſecretary Cicill in ſpeciall, knew what kynd of commodious men had maift credit about him for the tym ; and thervpon tok occaſion to deall with the leaſt honeſt, maift ambitious and gredy of the nomber and ſociete, that had junit and bandit them ſelues together to hald hand to other, wherby to mak them ſelues vp, and to diſgrace all honeſt trew men that had euer aſſiſted and helped him in all his troubles. Thir fort of men wer ſchone perſuadit and corrupted to moue the Regent to paſs in England, and accuſe ther natyue Quen before the Quen and conſaill of England, to the gret diſhonour of ther contre and Prince. For the Quen of England, wha had na juſt cauſe to retean the Quen, wha paſt in England in hope to get refuge, and the aſſiſtance quhilk had bene ſa oft promyſed vnto hir, baith before and efter hir captiuitie in Lochleuen, was very deſyrous to haue ſome coulour, wherby ſche mycht mak anſwer

to the ambaffadouris of findre princes, that reprochit hir for hir vnkyndly and vnpryncely proceeding theranent.

Becauſe the maiſt part of them that had the Regentis ear wer won to this oppinion, and the nomber few that wer of contrary oppinion, he paſt fordwart till England, accompanied with the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Lindſay, the lard of Lochleuen, the biſhop of Orkeney, the abbot of Domfermeling, Maifter James Magill, Meſter Hendry Belnaves, Meſter George Buchwhannen, the lard of Pittarrow, George Douglas biſhop of Murray, Meſter Jhon Wod the Regentis ſecretair, a gret ringleader, Meſter Nycholl Elphintoun; the ſecretary Liddingtoun, the proueſt of Lynclowden, Alexander Hay, Alexander Hum of Northberwik, the lard of Cleiſche, with dyuers vther barrons and gentilmen, that paſt ther to ſe the maner, and ſome to await vpon the Regent and lordis; and ſome that culd not get the Regent diſſwadit fra this extream folly at hame, paſt with him in England, to ſe gene be any aſſiſtance of ſic as wer frendis ther to the vnyon of this yll, and to the title of Scotland, mycht perchance mak them ſome help to get the accuſation ſtayed. For they that wer the Quenis lordis, that cam ther to deffend the Quenis part, had na credit nor famyliarite with the cheif factions in England anent the tytyle; wha durſt not open ther myndis bot to ſic as, be lang acquaintance, they wer weall aſſured of ther honeſtie and ſecreſie. The names of the Quenis lordis wer, the Lord Heris, the Lord Boid, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Lyuiſtoun, the biſhop of Roſis, and ſome vthers, with my brother S<sup>r</sup> Robert Meluill, ane onwaiter to do the gud he culd.

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The Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Suffex, Sir Walter Mylmy, and ſendre vther conſellours, wer ſend down to York, to heir the Regentis accuſation, and to be as juges between the King and Quenis lordis.

The first day of meting, the Duc of Norfolk requyred that the Regent shuld mak hommage, in the Kingis name, to the crown of England; thinking he had some matter for him, seing the said Regent ther to pled his cause before the counsaill of England. Wherat the Regent grew red, and wist not what till answer; bot the secretary Liddingtoun tok the speache, and said, that in restoryng again till Scotland the landis of Huntingtoun, Commerland and Northumberland, with sic vther landis as Scotland had of auld, that glaidly shuld homage be maid for the saidis landis; bot as to the crown and kingdome of Scotland, it wes freer then England had bene laitly, when it payed S<sup>t</sup> Peters peny to the Paip.

It appearit still that the Duc draue tym with us, as having na will till enter vpon the termes of accusation. What was in his head it appearit efterwart, bot was in a dout whom with to deall; for he thocht he nother saw honest men nor wyse men, as he granted him self efterwart. At last he resoluit to enter in conference with the secretary Liddingtoun, to whom he said, that he had of before clymed him a wyse man, vntill now that he cam before strangers till accuse the Quen his mestres, as thoch England wer juges ouer the princes of Scotland. How culd we find in our hartis to dishonour our Kingis mother, or how culd we answer of our dewty efterwart, doing what he culd to parell the Kingis hir sonnes richt of England, in traueling to put his mothers honestie in dout? It had bene rather the dewtie of them hir subiectis, to couer hir imperfections, gene sicke had any; remitting vnto God and the tym to punish and put ordour, wha is the only juge ouer princes.

Liddingtoun, as he mycht weall do, purgit him self, and sayd he cam ther to eschay to stay the said accusation, quhilk the lard of Grange, he

and dyuers vther honest men, had trauchit to do in vain, before the Regentis commyng out of Scotland ; and that now he wald be glaid of any help, to hender that schamfull deliberation of the Regentis, poullit therto be a company of gredy, rafehe and cairles confellours, the maist part of them his enuyers and secreet ennemys ; preing the Duc not to conceaue such ane euell oppinion of him, bot requested hym to draw the Regent a part, and enter with him in tha termes, quhilk efterwart the Regent wald schaw him, and he suld amplifie and set it out the best he culd.

The Duc askit gene the Regent wald kep secreet ; and when he was assured theroff be Liddingtoun, the nyxt day he tok occasion till enter with the Regent anent ther first frendship and familiarite, contracted at Leith during the seige and helping to put the Frenchemen out of Scotland. Then efter that the Regent had promysed secrecie, and assured him that ther first frendship suld stand to the end of his lyf, the Duc began to declare, how that he wald be a faithfull subiect to the Quen his mestres so lang as sche lyued, bot that sche was a woman, ouer cairles what mycht com efter hir anent the weall and quyetnes of hir contre ; quhilk neuertheles was meit the estaitis of England suld tak some ordour with, as they had essayed dyuers tymes to do at every

P. 111. parlement, to the Quenis gret discontentement, as one that caireth not what blud may be sched efter hir, for the rycht and title of the crown of England, quhilk consistis only in the personnes of the Quen, and King of Scotland hir sonne. Quhilk had bene put out of dout or then, gene matters had not bene sa vnhappely handled at hame ; and yet he and vther noblemen of England, as fathers of the contre, ar myndit to be cairfull ; meruelen what mycht haue moued him to com ther, and ac-

cuse his Quen. Albeit sche had done or sufferit harm to be done vnto the K. hir husband, ther was respect to be had vnto the Prince her sonne; quhilk he for his part, and many in England had, as Mester Meluill wha had bene lait ambassadour ther could testife; and therefore wiffit that the Quen shuld not be accused nor dishonorit, for the K. hir sonnes cause, and for the respect of the rycht they baith had to succed vnto the crown of England. And farther the Duc said, "I am fend to heir your accusation; bot nother will the Quen my mestres, nor I, discern nor geue out any sentence vpon your accusation; and that ye may vnderstand the verite in this point mair clearly, ye fall do weall, the nyxt tym that I requyre you before the counsaill to geue in your accusation in wret, to demand again the Quen my mestres seall and handwret, before ye schaw your folly, that incaice ye accuse, that sche fall immediatly convict and geue out hir sentence; otherwayes that ye will not open your pak; quhilk geue hir Maieste fall refuse to grant vnto you, quhilk vndoubtedly sche will do, then assure your self that my information is rycht, and tak occasion therupon to stay fra farder accusation.

The Regent tok very weill with this aduise of the Ducis, and kepit it secret from all his company; bot maid the secreтары Liddingtoun and me preuy to it, and we confirmed him weall in this oppinion. At the nyxt meating with the counsaill, when the Duc demandit the accusation to be geuen in, the Regent askit, for his securete, the Quen of Englandis seall and handwret, as was aduysed; whereof the rest of his faction gaif Liddingtoun the haill wyet, because it drew on a delay vntill the post was sent to the court and com bak again; and the Quenis answer being com bak, was, "Sche was a trew princes; hir

word and promysie wald be sufficient enough." The secretary Cicill and Mester Jhon Wod secretary to my L. Regent, thocht strange of this maner of the Regentis proceeding; therefore caused him and the lordis of baith sydis to pass fra York vp to the court, a far way; ther the mater to be traited, wher the Quen was abler to geue redy answers and replyes. In the mean tyme, the Regent finding the Duc of Norfolkis confaill to be trewe, enterit farther with him, and agreed between them, in presens of Liddingtoun, as folowes: "That he in nawayes shuld accuse the Quen, and the Duc shuld obteane vnto him the Quenis fauour, with a confirmation of the regency; the Duc and he to be as sworn brether, of a religion, schutting continowally at a mark, with the mutuel intelligence of others myndis; the one to reuill Scotland, and the other to reuill England, to the glory of God and weall of baith the princes and ther contrees; sa that the posterite shuld reput them the happyest twa instrumentis that ever was bred in Britany."

The Duc was then the grettest subiect in Europe, not being a fre prince; for he rewled the Quen and all them that wer maist famyliers with hir; he rewled the confaill, and rewled twa contrary factions in England, baith protestantis and papistis, with the town of Londown and haill commons; the gret men that wer papistis, were all his neir kinsmen, whom he enterteined with gret wilddome and discretion; the protestantis had sic proif of his godly lyf and conuersation, that they loued him entirely.

P. 112. The Regent being arryued at the court of England, quhilk wes for the tyme at Hamtoncourt, wes daily pressit to geue in his accusation; specially be them that wer about him, wha all thocht strange that he was sa laith to do it, vntill they wer aduertist be one of the lordis of

the Quenis fynd, of all that wes past between the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk. For the Duc had send and aduertist our Quen, be a secret man; and sche again schew it to ane of hir maiest famyliers, wha aduertist the Erle of Mortoun; wha tok it in a very euell part, that the Regent had not made him preuy, nor nane of that societe, how far he had delt and promysed vnto the Duc of Norfolk. Bot first, or them of his awen company wald seem to understand any thing of that matter, they layed ther headis together, and caused Meister Jhon Wod to infourm the secretary Cicill; and willit him to pres fordward the accusation, wherin he wes ernelt enough. They again left nathing vndone for ther part to the same, putting him in hope that the Quen wald geue him hir hand-wret and seall, to convict incaice he accused; and some of the fynest of them perswadit him, that sche wald neuer geue hir hand-wret nor seall, bot pat him till a strait to se what he wald do, incaice he obtenit his desyre. And Master Jhon Wod said, that it was meit to cary in all the wretis to the counsaill house, and he suld keip the accusation in his bosome, and suld not delyuer it without all conditions wer also kepit to him. The rest of the Regentis lordis and counsellours had concludit amang them, that sa schone as the Duc of Norfolk, as cheif of the counsaill, wald inquire for the accusation, that they suld all with a voice cry and perswad the Regent to ga fordward with it. The secretary Liddingtoun and a few vthers remembrit the Regent, how far he had obligit him self to the Duc of Norfolk. He said, he suld do weall enough, and that it wald not com that far agaitwart.

Sa schone as he with his counsaill wer within the counsaill house, the Duc of Norfolk askit for the accusation. The Regent desyred again the assurance of the conviction, be wret and seall, as said is. It was an-



fiwerit again, that the Quenis Maieſteis word, being a trew princes, wald be ſufficient enough. Then all the counſaill cryed out, wald he miſtruſt the Quen, wha had geuen ſic proif of hir frendſchip to Scotland. The Regentis counſaill cryed out alſo on that ſame maner. Then the ſecretary Cicill aſkit, gene they had the accuſation ther. "Yes," ſaid Meſter Jhon Wod (with that he pluckis it out of his boſome); "bot I will not delyuer it vntill hir Maieſteis handwret and ſeall be delyuerit to my lord." Then the biſhop of Orkeney cleakis the wret out of Meſter Jhon Wodis handis. "Let me haue it, I ſall preſent it," ſaid he. Meſter Jhon ran efter him, as gene he wald haue had it again, or ryuen his clais. Fordwart paſt the biſhop to the counſaill table, and gaue in the accuſation. Then ſaid to him my Lord Willyem Hauvert, chamberlan, "Weill done, biſhop Turpy: thou art the frackeſt felow amang them; none of them all will mak thy loup gud;" ſcornen him for his louping out of the lard of Grange ſchip. Meſter Hendre Belnaves only had maid reſiſtance, and callit for the ſecretary Liddingtoun, wha taried without the counſaill houle; bot ſa ſchone as Meſter Hendre Belnaves had callit for him, he cam in, and roundit in the Regentis ear that he had ſchamed him ſelf, and pat his lyf in parell by the loſ of ſa gud a frend, and his reputation for euer.

P. 113. The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facilitie to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again ſa ſchone as Liddingtoun had ſchawen him the danger, and deſyrit the accuſation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had ſome mair to add vnto it. Bot they ſaid, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receave any vther addition when he pleaſit to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had enough ado to keip his contenance; Meſter Jhon Wod winket vpon

the secretary Cicill, wha tynyled again vpon him ; the rest of the Regentis company were lauchen vpon other ; the secretary Liddingtoun had a fair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the confaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his logging at Kingstoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had enough ado to confort him.

The Quen of England having obteanit hir intent, receaued gret contentement. First sche thocht sche had matter for hir, to schaw wherfore sche reteanit the Quen ; then sche was glaid of the Quenis dishonour ; bot sche detestet in hir mynd the Regent and all his company, and wald not ken him, nor hear any mair of him. Sche sent also incontinent to the Quen to confort hir, preing hir to think that sche was in a better caice ther, albeit keaped for a whyll, nor to be in Scotland with sa unworthy subiectis, wha had accused hir falsly and wrangeously, as sche was assured ; and that neyther shuld they be the better, nor sche the war, for any thing that they had done ; for sche wald not be juge, nor geue out any sentence therupon, nor nane shuld knawe, be hir or hir counsaill, na part of the said fals accusation ; preing hir to take patience in hir gentill ward, wher sche was nerer at hand to get the crown of England set vpon hir head, in caice of hir discesse, wha was bot the eldest sister.

Thus the Regent wan na vther thing for his labour, bot to be disappointed by the Quen and counsaill of England, and detestet be the Duc of Norfolk, and reprochit be his best and truest frendis ; and sufferit to ly a lang tyme at Kingstoun, in gret displeasour and fear, without money to spend, and without hope to get any fra the Quen. In the mean tyme, the maner of agrement between him and the Duc was tald vnto the Quen ; for the Erle of Mortoun caused a minister, callit Jhon Willok,

to declair the dealing betwen the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk to the Erle of Huntingtoun, wha caused my L. of Leycester tell it vnto the Quen.

The Duc of Norfolk finding him self disapointed be the Regent, and his purpos discouerit vnto the Quen, began to boist and speake plane langage, that he wald serue and honor the Quen his mestres sa lang as sche lyued, bot efter hir discesse, he wald set the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head as lawfull heir ; and this far he said also to Mester Cicill, and bad him pass and prattle that langage again to the Quen. The secretary Cicill answerit agane, that he wald be na taill teller to the Quen of him, bot wald concur with him in any course, and serue him in any thing wherin he wald employ him. He boisted also Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom he supponit wald be in his contrair, as a trew and deuot saruand to the Quen ; sa that Sir Nycholas was fayn efterwart to seake his fauour, be the moyen of the Erles of Penbrough and Leycester, wha was also his frend, albeit he durst not hyd fra the Quen that quibilk the Erle of Huntingtoun had maid him aduertisement of, willing him to declare the same vnto the Quen.

P. 114. The Duc of Norfolk, vnderstanding that his haill purpos was discouerit, stod na aw to confesse vnto the Quen, that he wald never offend her for hir tym, bot serue and honour hir ; and efter hir, the Quen of Scotland, as maist lawfull in his oppinion, for eschewing of ciuill warres and gret bludshedding, that mycht vtherwayes fall out. Albeit the Quen of England lyked not this langage, sche wald not seem to find falt with it for the tym.

Now matters being casten lowse on this maner, betwen he Regent and the Duc, and the Regent in gret distreis, Sir Nycholas Throgmor-

toun, being a man of gret discours, and wha had euer trauelit to the vnion of this yll, efter that he was agreed with the Duc, and saw that the Erles of Leycester, Penbrugh, secretery Cicill, and the rest of the court and commons wer all for the Duc, and that the Quen durst not find falt with him, he denyed and brocht till pass a new frendship between the Regent and the Duc ; wha was very laith to enter again with the Regent, yet at lenth sufferit him self to be persuadit. My L. Regent, on the other part, being destitute for the tym of all frendship in England, and indigent of money, thocht it a gret happynes vnto him gif he mycht get again the Ducs fauour and pardon. Sa he wes brocht easely and secretly vnto the Duc be Sir Nycholas ; at what tym he granted his offence, excusing him self the best he mycht, vpon the craft and importunite of some of his company. The Duc helpit him to mak his excuses, alleging that he knew how that his gentill nature wes abused, be the craft and concurrence of some of the counsaill of England with them that wer about him ; and gene he wald, in tymes commyng, kep tuesches and be secret, ordour shuld be put vnto all them that had drawn on that dracht. The Regent promysed, as far as culd be denyed ; sa that a greter frendship was packit vp between them then ever it was. The Duc had of before tald him, that he was myndit to mary the Quen our mestres, and that he shuld neuer let hir com in Scotland, nor yet that he shuld never rebell against the Quen of England for hir tym ; also that he had a dochter that mycht be meater for the K. then any vther, for many raisons quhilk wer set out for that purpos. Now the Duc tok in hand to cause the Quen his mestres geue vnto my L. Regent, xxv thousand pondis Scotis ; for the quhilk soun he becam caution, and was efterwart compellit to pay.

Efter that my L. Regent had gottin this money, and tane his leaue of the Quen, he was aduytēd be sic as had yet gret credit about him. to tell the Quen ſecrety all thingis that wer paſt of new again betwen the Duc of Norfolk and him. And to do it the mair couertly, it was denytēd that the Quen of England ſuld ſend for him, ſeamyng to geue him ſome admonition anent gud ordour to be obſeruit vpon the borders. This being done, and all thingis diſcouerit to the Quen, with a promyſe ſa ſchone as he cam in Scotland, and had reſauit any lettres from the Duc be chiffers or vtherways, to ſend them all in England with a man expreſs. In the mean tym the Duc wret vnto our Quen, aduertiffen hir again of the new frendſchip betwen him and the Regent, wha wes very penitent, and had bene diſceaued be craftier men nor him ſelf; willing hir to let him paſs by, without any harm to be done vnto him, or any of his be the way.

P. 115. At that tym, the Duc commandit ouer all the north partis of England, wher the Quen our meſtres was keped, and mycht haue tane hir out when he pleaſit; and when he wes angry at the Regent, had apointed the Erle of Weſtmourland to ly in his way, and cut off him ſelf and ſa many as wer bent to the Quenis accuſation. Bot efter the laſt agrement, the Duc ſend and diſcharget the ſaid erle to do ws harm; yet the erle cam in our way, with a company of faire horſe, to ſchew that we wer in his mercy.

Efter the Regentis retournyng ſaiffly in Scotland, Meſter Jhon Wod his ſecetary procured, vpon the firſt occaſion, to be ſend in England, with all the wretis that culd be gottin that mycht ſerue till vndo the Duc of Norfolk; and deſyred Meſter Hendre Belnaues to cauſe the Regent geue him the biſhoprik of Murray, vaikant for the tym, no-

ther for ambition nor gredines of the rentis, bot rather that he mycht haue ane honorable flyll, to fet out the better his ambasslage. The said Mester Hendre, being inded sic a man as Mester Jhon wald appere to be, was very angry, and lyked him never efter that. My L. Lindsay wanted him self, that he was ane of the number that gaif the Regent counsaill sa to do ; alleging that sic promyses as wes maid vnto the Duc of Norfolk, for fear of his lyf, aucht not to be keped.

A whyll efter that Mester Jhon was com bak in Scotland, weall rewardit for his trew traueling, the Duc wes sent for be the Quen to com to the court. Wherupon first he poisted ane in haist to the secretery Cicill, to haue his counsaill ; for he reposed then mekle vpon him, for they wer packit vp in a course. The other maid answer, that ther was na danger ; he mycht com and gang at his pleafour, na man wald nor durst offend him ; quhilk moued the Duc to ryd quyetly, only with his awen trayn, wher vtherwayes he had bene weill accompanied. In the mean tym the secretery Cicill infourmed the Quen, how that the necessity of the tym straited hir, not till omit this occasion till tak the matter stoutly vpon hir self, and command hir gard incontinent to lay handis vpon the Duc, or ellis na vther durst do it ; quhilk gene sche did not at this tym, hir crown wald be in parell. The Quen folowing this aduys, the Duc was tane and keped, when he thocht that all England wes at his deuotion ; wha efter lang captiuite was execut, and endit his lyf deuotly in the reformed religion.

Schortly efter Mester Jhon Wodis returnyng out of England, ther was a gret Convention halden at Perth ; wher the Regent was myndit to accuse the secretery Liddingtoun, for being of counsaill with the Duc of Norfolk. Bot he had sa many frendis for the tym, that they durst

not lay handis on him ; albeit fra that hour fourth, he reterit from court and remanit with the Erle of Atholl, wher the Regent entertained him with fair frendly lettres, and vpon a tym being in Stirling wret for him, to com and help to mak a dispasche to England ; wher being com, Capten Crafford wes directed to accuse him before the preuy counsaill of the lait Kingis mourther, and being accused of fa odious a crym, was committed to ward.

P. 116. Sir James Balfour wes also tane out of his awen housè, when he lippenit for na les. Then my L. of Down wret vnto the Lard of Grange to be vpon his gardis ; for the Regent wald tak the Castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the Lard of Dromwhafell capten ; wherof he had aduertist the Lard of Grange of before, as also of the intention to tak the secretaire and Sir James Balfour. Bot he wald not geue credit therto at the first ; bot now when he saw the aduertiffementis tak effect, he began to think that the Regent wes led strangly, and wald haue bene content to want the castell and leaue the court, wer not the defyre he had to saif the lyues of the secretaire and Sir James Balfour, whom he knew to be wrangeously persewed, only be the malice and envy of ther ennemys for ther offices. Sir James Balfour being tane, fend vnto the Lard of Grang, remembring him how he junit with the lordis and Regent vpon the trust he had of his fidelite, mair nor till all ther seales and handwretis, quhilkis he had till produce. Wherupon the Lard of Grange fend a gentilman to the Regent ; bot the Regent purgit him self, and allegit the counsaill wer sa bandit togither against the secretaire and Sir James, that it lay not in his power to get them vnwardit, feing they wer accusit for the Kingis mourthour against his will, bot Grange fuld ken his honest part therin at meting ; preing



him in the mean tym to suspend his judgement. Nevertheles the Regent and his counsell wer determinit to pass fordwart, and tak the lyues fra the tua prisoners, till Grange send again and desired the lyk justice to be done vpon the Erle of Mortoun and Mester Archebald Douglas ; for he offerit to feicht with Mester Archebald, and the Lord Heris offerit to feicht with the Erle of Mortoun, that he was vpon the counsell, and airt and part of the Kings mourther. This stayed ther execution at that tym, and the Regent still allegit that the lordis had tane them against his will, and that he shuld send Sir James Balfour to the castell of Santandrowes, and shuld bring the secretaire Liddington till Edenbrough, and deliuer him vnto the Lard of Grange to be kept. Sa the Regent cam till Edenbrough, and brocht the secretaire with him, intending as Grange was aduertist, to mak the said secretaire a steall guse to draw down Grange out of the castell to the town the nyxt mornynge, to receaue the secretaire to be convoyed vp to the castell ; and then to reteane Grange also, vntill the castell shuld be deliuerit vntill the lard of Dromquhafell to be keeper therof, and to send Grange hame to his house, and reward him with the pryourie of Pittinweme. Bot the Erle of Mortoun had appointed four men to sleie Grange, at the entre of the Regentis logging, by the Regentis knowlege. Bot Grange wes laith yet to trow the worst of the Regent, and being of oppinion that the Regentis gentill natour was forcit be the lordis, as he had send him word,

P. 117. and vnderstod that they wer myndit to cary the secretaire to Tamtouloun, he cam down out of the castell with a company, and rest the secretaire out of the handis of his keepers, and convoyed him vp to the castell. For he thocht, gif it be trew that the Regent said, wher he wes forcit be the lordis against his will to let the secretaire be reteanit efter

that he wes accused, now the Regent wald be glaid that he had reuengit his quarrell vpon the lordis, be taking the secretaire out of ther handis, quhilk he mycht justly allege that he knew not of; and that, gif the Regent wald be miscontent with his vptaking, it wald be a manifest token of his discembling and double dealing. In that caice, Grange thocht he did a guid deid, to faif his frendis lyf; and to beleue dyuers intelligences, quhilkis he wald not credit of before, and therfore to be vpon his gardis in tymes commyng.

The Regent and his confellours, when they vnderstod how that Grange had tane vp the secretaire to the castell, wer in a gret perplexitie, supponyng all ther confelis to be disclofit; and wist not how to help the matter, bot aduysed the Regent to couer his colair vntill a bettir occasion; causing him pas vp to the castell the nyxt mornyng, for he durst credit Grange. Bot Grange durst na mair credit him, albeit at meting he gaif him ma fair wordis then he was wont to do, quhilk Grange tok in ane euell part. Eftir this, ther wer many deuyces how to trap Grange sometym in his down commyng to the Regent; bot he wes ay aduertist and vpon his gardis. Sa as the Regent tint daly of his best frendis, the number of his ennemys increffit; for the Duc of Chattelleraut, wha wes agreed with him by the moyen of the Lord Heris, when the said Duc and the Lord Heris cam till Edenbrough, as was appointed at ther agreement, to concure with the Regent in confell and vtherwayes for the quytne of the contre, they wer baith wardit in the castell against promyse. Quhilk when the Lard of Grange fand falt with, Meister Jhon Wod said, " My lord, I maruell of yow; how fall we that ar my lordis dependers get rewardis bot be the wrak of sic men." " Yea," said Grange, " is that your halynes ?

I fe nathing bot ye, amang yow, for envy, gredines and ambiffion, ar lyk to wrak a gud Regent and contre." This was lang before the taking of the fecretaire, and increffit the hattrent of a wickit fociete againft Grange, wha mycht not abyd his honeftie, credit and reputation, thortering at all occafions ther parcialites ; quhilk wes the falt alfo that they had againft the fecretary, and becaufe his wit excellit fa far abone thers. The captiuite of the Duc and my L. Heris, maid many vnfrendis, wha tok the greter baldnes to confpyre againft the Regent, when they perlauid him to tyn and caft aff his aldeft and beft frendis.

It was a fair thing to fe that gud Regent, anes fa weill inclynit to do gud offices in religion and commown weall, fa wryed and drawn efter vther mens vain pretences and affections ; employeing theriuntill the haille tym of his regiment to his awen vtter wrak, to the wrak of many worthy perfonages, and to ther wrak at lenth that wer his leaders.

P. 118 The Regentis misbehauour throw euell confellours, as geuing ear only vnto flatterers, and wald not fuffer his trew loving frendis any langer to tell him the verite, maid many to conjectour that his wrak was at hand ; and I amang vthers deuysed a preſent remedy for his preferuation, whilk was this.

I knew that the taking vp of Liddingtoun to the caſtell, ſank deapeſt in the Regentis hart. The falſe practyſes, and wrakful fetches of ſic as had learnt the Regent to diſcemble, moued Grange ; and the gelouſies raiſed therupon between them, moued and gaif place to his ennemys till confpyre.

Fiſt, I requetted the Regent to remember vpon the falſe practyſes that ſome about him had ſindre tymes viſed of before, to his gret diſ-

plefour; and to confidder how they wer yet the caufe of all thir ey-leftis and fufpitions that wer fallen fourth betwen him and his frendis; quhilk mycht encourage his ennemys to tak fome wicked enterpryfe in hand againft his perfone. For remedy wherof, it was meit that Liddingtoun fuld paß in France, vnder caution of twenty thowfand pondis, and neuertheles to geue his fone in plege that he fuld not com in Scotland without fpeciall leaue, nor practyfe in any maner againft the prefent eftait. Sir James Balfour to be fet at liberte, or baniffit on the fame maner; for he had alredy won the Regentis famyliers with gret founmes of gold, quhilk had ftanchèd ther wraith againft him; quhilk Liddingtoun wald not, albeit Sir James had fend him his aduyfe to do as he had done. Thir twa being fred and out of the way, the Lard of Grange fuld delyuer vnto him the caftell of Edenbrough, to mak capten therof whom he pleasit; that the haill contre mycht fe how that all wes in his power and at his command, and was the beft way and meanis to reduce again the oppinions of the people, and wald dafche and fkar his ennemys fra all ther deſperat enterpryfes.

His anfwer was, that he bure na euell will to Liddingtoun, and wald not prefs him to paß out of the contre. As for Sir James Balfour, he fuld put him to liberte; and as for Grange, he wes ouer far obliſt vnto him and had fa gret proif of his fidelite, that he was neuer myndit to tak the caftell from him; and gif it wer out of his handis, he wald geue him the keping therof again before any vther. He denyed alfo that he was in any fufpition other of Grange or the ſecretair; and thervpon paßt vp to the caftell, and conferrit frendly with them of all his affaires, with a bl yeth volt, and caſten in many mirry purpoſes of auld ſtraits and dangers wherin they had bene togiether. Sa he wes inſtructed to

P. 119. discemle ; and yet it sat him nocht, for it wes against his nature, and wes easely persaued be them wha had bene sa lang acquainted with him, and had bene his cheif aduancers vnder God, the secretery be his wifdome, and Grange be his manlynes and fidelite ; and had baith sic notable qualites, that they mirited to be enuyed of wicked and vnworthy bodyes, wha be ther continowell flatterie and false reportis pat them out of his fauour ; and then lyk a weak hause wanting hir susteanynge pillaires, he fell in decadence.

Him self was at the first of a gentill nature, weall inclynit, gud with gud company, wyfe with wyfe company, stout with stout company, and contrary wayes with vthers of the contrary qualiteis ; sa that as company chancit to fall about him, his busynes gaid rycht or wrang. In his first vpryng, his hap wes to leicht vpon the best fort ; for in his beginning, full of aduersite, trew honest men stak be him, because he wes religioussly brocht vp. Again when he wes Regent, flatterers for ther proffit drew till him, and puft him vp in ouer gud oppinion of him self. His auld trew frendis again wald reprove him, wherby they tint his fauour. I wald somtymes say to him, that he was lyk ane vnskillfull player in a keatchepoill, runnyng euer efter the ball ; wheras ane expert player wald se and dicerne wher the ball will leicht, wher it will stot, and with small trauell will let it leicht in his hand or racket. Thus I said, because he tok very gret panes in his awen persone to small effect ; efter he had gotten dyuers aduertisementis of his ennemys conspyracies, in vain ; for he wald credit nathing bot it that cam fra his famyliers, wha tald him nathing bot of faire wether, and of the best gouernement that culd be, and sa pat him in a cairles securite ; quhilk encouraget the gud man of Bodowellhach, callit Hamil-

toun, to ly in his gait as he wes passing throw Litheo and schot hym, wherof he died that same nycht. All his confellouris and famyliers wer awaill aduertist as he wes, baith of the man, the place and the tym; and yet wer sa cairles of him, that they wald not tak the panes to searche the house wher the man lay to schot him, bot sufferit him to eschaip vpon a spedy horse.

I haue wreten this far of him, because euery ane knowes not the verite how he was led out of the rycht way. And because St Augustin sayes that alkynd of yngnorance is nother worthy of pardone nor excuse, bot only sic as haue not the meanis to be instructed, nor to get knowlege, I was sometymes compellit to recit dyuers sentences of Salomon to this gud Regent, for sa he was and is yet callit; how that ane havy gok is ordonit for the sonnes of Adam, from the day that they go out of ther mothers womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all thingis; from him that is clothed in blew silk, and weareth a crown, euen vnto him that weareth simple lynning; wraith and enuy, trouble and vnquytnes, rygour and stryf, and fear of death in the tym of rest. 2. Be delygent to know the estait of thy flok; for the prince that sees bot with other mens eyn, and heares with other mens eares, mon nedis be yngnorant; and sic a prince is a gret oppressour. Bot a wyse king skattereth the wicked, and causeth the whell to wholme ouer them. That prince quhilk wantis the sur and certain intelligence of the estait of his contre, is a very yngnorant in that caice, and is commonly maid a wicked instrument to fulfill the appetitis of enuyous vengeable and gredy confellours. And Salomon sayes, that for the transgression of sic wicked confellours, the land chenges many princis. And again, the prudent man seeth the plaig and escheweth it, bot fules



go on still and ar puniffit. Wifdome, knaulege and vnderftanding of the law, is of the Lord ; errour yngnorance and darkenes ar apponted vnto fynners, for punifmentis and plaiges. The foolifche will beleue euery thing, and the mouth of fules is fed with fulifhnes ; bot the prudent will confidder his paithes, and can perfaue how that fome ar confellouris for them felues. Therfore, fayes Salomon, I wifdome duell with prudence, and can find fourth the rycht knaulege of confelles. As

P. 120. gene he wald fay, I that haue wifdome purifeid with prudency, will not be fa eafely caried away be flatterers, as ar a number of facill princes that promot them abone faithfull frendis and trew faruandis, that reproue them for ther vnfeamly proceadingis. Againft the reull of Ifocrates, wha admoniffit his King to loue and efteem as his trewift frendis. tic as lovingly and modestly will correct his faltis. And as Plutark fayes vnto Trajan, folow the counsaill of them that loues the, rather then of them that thou loues. And as Theopompe, being demandit how a prince fuld beft reull, anfwerit, in permitting his trew faruandis to tell him the verite of his eftait. As the King of the people is, fo ar his officers ; gif the officers be wicked, fa is the reuler thocht to be. How ar flatterers flowen away with your wonted humilite ; and wha hes puft you vp, fa that ye will not fuffer a frendly reprof ? Says not Salomon, gene thou feeft a man wyfe in his awen conceat, ther is mair hop to be had of a fool than of him. Exalt not thyfelf in the day of honour, for pryd goith before deftruction, and ane hy mynd before the fall. Yet hear counsaill and refaue instruction ; let raifoun go before euery enterpryfe, and counsaill before euery action. When ye folowed the counsaill of your auld experimented frendis, your affaires prosperit. Sen ye left them, to folow the flattering fetches of your wonted faes,



that ar now becom your chieffest confellours, efter that ye wer maid Regent, your credit decayes and all your butynes gais abak. I ſchew you laitly, commyng of Domfreis, in what danger was your eſtair and perſone, wherunto ye haue tane ouer litle tent ; quhilk danger apperis to be ay the langer the greter, without ſpedy repentance, and the ſpedy embracing of ſic remedies as I mentionit for the tym. Therfor tak this bettir to hart, and in a gud part of him of whom ye haue had ſa gud proif in all your aduerſities. Salomon ſayes mair, receaue inſtruction, that thou mayeſt be wyſe in thy lattir end ; and abone all this, prey to the moſt hych that he will direct thy way in treuth ; quhilk I prey God grant you the grace to do.

The maiſt part of thir ſentences, drawn out of the byble, I vſit to recit vnto him at all erroneous occaſions ; and he tok bettir with them therfore, then gif they had proceedit from the learnit philoſophers. Therefore I promyſed to put them [in] wret, and gaue him to kepe in his poutche ; bot he was ſlain, as ſaid is, before I culd meit with him.

Eftir the diſceſe of this Regent, England ſend the Erle of Suffex to Berwick ; wher the Erle of Lenox cam alſo at that ſame tym, as being ſent for be the lordis of the Kingis faction, to be maid Regent in ſteid of the Erle of Murray. The Erle of Suffex had with him the forces of the north, as gene he had ſome enterpryſe to do, and tak ſome advantage, the tym that the contre wanted a Regent. About that ſame tym, ſa many of the lordis as wer bandit, and profeſſit the Quenis autorite, cauſed proclame the ſame at Lithco. As yet, they of the caſtell of Edenbrough profeſſit the Kingis autorite, albeit ther wer ſecret jealousies between them, and ſa many of the reſt as had bene cauſe to draw the lait Regent vpon the taking of the ſecretary Liddingtoun and Sir

James Balfour, and wald also have wraked Grange, becaufe he was a frend to them twa ; and also becaufe his vertus wer envyed, and his

P. 121. capitanrie defyred be vthers.

They that wer within the said castell for the tym, wer my L. Duc of Chattelleraut and my L. Heris, wardit wrangeously as I haue said ; therfore the lard of Grange obteanit a warrant fra the rest of the Kingis lordis, to fet them at liberte. The Lord Hum was ther, to assit with them of the castell with the lard of Grange, the secretary Liddingtoun, his brother the pryour of Cowdingame, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Meluill, his twa brether, capten Daid and S<sup>r</sup> Andro Meluille, the lard of Drylaw, Pit-tadrow, Sir James Balfour, the lardis of Ferniheft, Baclouch, Wil-mestoun, Parbroith, and dyuers vthers noblemen and barrons that cam ther at all occasions, and wer redy for them when they had ado.

This company directed me to Barwik, toward the Erle of Suffex, to know what he intendit to do with his forces ; whither to assit any of the twa factions, or to agre them. I was frendly refauit be him, weall logit and deffrayed, and wanted nathing, not semikle as his awen nycht gown furrit with rich fourringis, sa lang as I abaid ther. Albeit he was a gret ennemy till all Scottis men, he appearit to enter in gret familiarite with me, and semed to tell me of his maist secret mynd ; alleging his planes to me was upon the report he had hard be findre of his contre men. He said, that his commyng with sic forces was not till assit any faction, nor to descyd questions and titles that was amang us, bot to ferue the Quen his mestres commandement ; and that gif he did any enterpryse or harme at that tym till any Scottis man, it suld be against his hart ; and that of all Scottisfimen, he lyked best of them that wer within the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers ; specially be-

cause he knew them to haue bene frendis to the Duc of Norfolk his neir cuning ; whais part he had planly tane, gif the said Duc had be his awen mouth communicated his enterpryse to him, as he had foolishly done be a gentilman of his ; to whais credit he durst not commit the secrecy of that weichty matter, quhilk stode him upon his lyf and heritage ; and that albeit he with his foris cam not till set out nor fortify any faction in Scotland, yet he durst be plane with me, as with a trew frend priuaty, to declare that he estymed the Quen of Scotland, and the Prince hir sone, rychtous hayres to the crown of England ; quhilk part of his mynd he had schawen to few in England.

So I returnit with na direct answer, bot with a firm oppinion, that he wes send to seam to set fordwart the Erle of Lenox to be Regent, and to send word to the lordis of the Kingis syd that he wald assist them, and send in Mester Randolph heir with the Erle of Lenox ; and yet to deall with the lordis of the Quenis faction, to encourage them till hald fordwart ther factious courses. Because the said Mr Randolphe had a gret dealing with the house of Hammiltoun, as he wha convoyed the Erle of Arran, now vested with the hand of God, out of France throw England and hame in Scotland, to assist the congregation. He knew also what auld and lang hattrent wes between the houses of Lenox and Hammiltoun, and was deliberately directed secretly to kindle a fyre of discord between the twa stark factions in Scotland, quhiik could not be easely quenched ; and to confirm the Lord Hum, wha was not yet resolut to tak part with the Quenis faction, quhilk England thocht not yet stark enough, to sustean lang stryf against the Kingis faction.

The Erle of Suffex entred in the Merse with his forces, and tok the castell of Hum and Falfcastell, full of riches and precious mouables,

P. 122.

moving the Lord Hum that way to tak plane part with the Hamiltons and Quenis faction. Werby it may be fean, how that the conclufion to hald contrees in difcord, be the craft of the confaill of England for the tym, as I haue fpecified of before, was now put in practyfe incontinent efter the difcefe of the Erle of Murray. Albeit the Erle of Lenox had his wyf, his bairnis and landis yet in England, they wald not credit him; bot fupponit he wald be a trew Scottifinan, as he proued in deid efterwart. I being in Barwik, when the Erle of Lenox was fa far agaitwart to com in Scotland, to be Regent as faid is, I thocht it my dewty to vifit him; for at his firft incommyng before the mariage of his fonne my L. Darley with the Quen, he fend this that is now Crownel Stuart for my brother Sir Robert and me, and becaufe my brother was abfent, I went allane to him. At what tym, he tald me that his lang abfence out of the contre had maid him as a ftranger in the knowlege of the eftait, and that my lady his wyf, at his commyng from hir, had willit him to tak my brothers confaill and myn in all his adoys, as hir frendis and kinfmen. Sa that being familier anough with him, I vifited him at this tym, and tald him the prefent eftait of the contre; bot I difuadit him to accept vpon him the regiment, fearing that in fa doing it wald coift him his lyf, as matters wer lyk to be handled, as I fuld inform him at mair lenth being at hame. As for my felf, I promyfed to ferue and affift him, albeit I culd not fe the lyk intention be them that wer in the caftell of Edenbrough. He promyfed again to be my frend at his power, and gaif me his hand therupon. Then he inquyred, what wes the caufe that they of the caftell wald be in his contraire. I faid, for na particular they had at him felf, bot becaufe the company of lordis that had fend for him to com hame.

and be Regent by them, wer ther vnfrendis, and suspected they wald also with tym moue hym also to be ther ennemy. He said that the lard of Grange had bene alwayes his gud frend, and had done him somtymes gret plesour. I sayd, I hoped he suld be his frend yet, eftir that he had sattelit himself in the regiment, and mycht haue leafer to be richtly infourmed of euery mans part.

Retournyng bak fra Barwik, at the bond rod, I met the abbot of Domfermeling, sent be the Kingis lordis to England, to meit with the Erle of Lenox in his passing by. Sa far as I culd learn efterwart of his commiſſion, was to delyre the Quene of England to delyuer the Quen of Scotland, to be keped be the Kingis lordis heir at hame ; seing that sche wald not proceed vtherwayes conform to ther accusation, geuen in the tym that my L. of Murray wes ther ; wherunto the Quen of England maid answer, gif they wald send hir sufficient plegis for the surete of the Quenis lyf, sche suld delyuer hir to them to be keped. The abbot allegit that to be hard to do ; for what incaice the Quen died in the mean tym. Sche said again, “ My L. I beleued ye had bene a wyse man ; ye wald presse me to speak that quhilk is not necessary. Ye suld knaw that for my honestie, I can not bot requyre plegis to that end. I think ye mycht juge also of your self, what mycht be my weall.” Hir meaning in this may be easely jugit and vnderstand.

P. 123. The Erle of Lenox cam till Edenbrough shortly efter me, and efter he had accepted vpon him the gouernement, his first enterpryse wes to tak Breichen, quhilk was keped be some companyes of futmen, tane vp be the Erle of Huntely to assist the Quenis faction. Thir soldiours aduertist of the new Regentis commyng to persue them, fled : except

a few that kepit the kirk and ftipell, wha wer all hanget. I had maid me redy to ryd with the Regent, bot Mefter Randolphe the Engliſhe ambaffadour, wha cam in with the Erle of Lenox, feamyng to fet him fordwart at his power, ſtayed me not to ryd with the Regent ; for he feared that I ſuld be ane inſtrument to agre the lard of Grange, and them of the caſtell of Edenbrough, to the Regentis obedience with tym, to the hendrance of the ciuill diſcention quhilk he intendit to eſtabliſhe. For gene they of the caſtell of Edenbrough and ther dependers had aſſiſted the Regent, the Quenis faction wer ſa few and weak, that they wald not haue bene able to mak a party to the Kingis faction, wha wer yet manyeſt in nomber, and had the haill hartis of the ſubiectis vpon ther ſyd.

I was very laith to ſtay behind the Regent, baith becauſe I had promyſed to aſſiſt and tak part with him, and alſo becauſe I had obteanit a teind of the biſhoprik of S' Androwes, of the landis of Le- them beſyd Monimell, geuen be the Erle of Murray to Mefter Hendre Balnaves, wherof I had na takis bot poſſeſſion, be raiſoun that the biſhop for the tym in Dombartan wes forfeited ; ſa the ſaid tend wes in the Regentis power to diſpone to any vther, yet he had maid me promyſe that I ſuld bruk it. I tald Mefter Randolphe, that the ſaid tendis mycht be in danger to be diſponit, incaice I wer abſent fra the Regent. "Tuſch," he ſaid, "I am tutour at this tym to the Regent ; I ſall not only warrant your teind, bot ſall cauſe yow get a better gift ;" and promyſed in the mean tym to wret a letter vnto the Regent, wha wes alredy riden, to let him knaw that he had ſtayed me, to draw on agrement between my frendis of the caſtell and him ; willing him not to diſpon ſic a teind fra me till any vther. Howbeit I knew him to be

a double dealer and a fawer of difcord ; yet I culd not beleue, that he wald abuſe me or hurt me in any thing, being ſa far addetted to me during his baniffement in France for religion, during the regne of Quen Mary. Nether wald I blob the paper with this mekle concernyng my perticulair, wer not to declair the ſtrange practyſes of princes in matters of eſtait.

Now I being ſtayed at Randolpes deſyre, his firſt propoſition to me was, to deſyre the capten of the caſtell till agre and aſſiſt the Regent. I tald him that I ſupponit he ſuld do it with tym, bot not ſa haiftely ; and that ſame anſwer I brocht to him bak again, with a requeſt fra the Lard of Grange to be plane with him, for ther had bene alſo gret frendſchip betwen them in France. Efter ſome ceremonies and proteſtations of ſecreſie, he ſaid, “ Tell your frend this far fra Meſter Randolphe, bot not fra the Engliſh ambaffadour, that ther is no lawfull autorite in Scotland bot the Quenis ; ſche will prevaill at lenth, and therefore hir courſe is ſureſt, and beſt for hym to jun him ſelf with them of hir faction.” This wes the help he maid to the Regent, wha lippenit that his only ambaffage and labours was to aduance his autorite and obedience vnder the King. I ſeamed to be very weill ſatiſfied with this healthſome advyſe, and paſt vp to the caſtell, and tald the capten and his aſſociatis na mair nor I had aſſured them of at my commyng hame out of Berwik.

The Lard of Grange wes ſtill myndit to byd at the Kingis autoritie. ſeing that to be factious in hir name, during hir abſens and captiuite, mycht do hir mair euell then gud, and be occaſion of gret bludſchedding amang the ſubiectis, be the malice of the ringleaders of England. and parcialites of a few in Scotland ; and wes affecten bot a meit occaſion how to mak agrement betwen the parties. In the mean tym, I paſt vp



and down betwen them of the castell and Mester Randolph, wha gaif me another commiffion, to wit, incaice the tua Quenis of England and Scotland agre betwen them felues, to appoint ane Englis man to be capten of the castell of Edenbrough, and fend vnto him a wretting subferyuit with baith ther handis ; gif he wald condiscend alfo, for gret commodite to him self, to delyuer the said castell vnto that perfone that fould be apponted. This he refused vtterly, in ane gret anger. This was all the gud agrement that Mester Randolphe and I maid during the Regentis abfence ; and in ftead to remember the Regent not to difpone my tendis, he had a dealing with the tutor of Pitcur be the paffing betwen of George Halybroutoun, that he caufed them fut my teindis of Lethem at the Regent, and tald that how I wanted fufficient fecurite. And when the Regent wes returnit to Edenbrough, and I infourmed Mester Randolph of ane outgait how to get my tendis again, and remembrit him of his promyfe, he faid, that the Regent wes fa ftubborn and of fa euell a natour, that he culd not deall with him. Then I burfted out and tald him, how that his praetyfes wer weall enough perfauit ; and wheras it apperit that he wald caufe me not only abandon the Regent, bot alfo be ane inftrument to perfuad the Lard of Grange to be vpon the contrary faction, I wald not be that inftrument, nor leaue the Kingis courfe thoch he fould caufe tak fra me the reft of my landis.

Seing that Grange culd not yet be moued to jun with the Quenis faction, as the court of England defyred, (for the reft of the contre of England wer fory to fe this kynd of dealing,) the Englifche ambaffadour perfuadit the Regent to caft him aff, be dyuers wrangis and leichtlies done to him felf and his dependares. In the mean tyme my L. Duc, the Erles of Argyll and Huntly, addreflit them vnto hym, and

maid ther mean, how that they, being noblemen of the contre, wer refused to be in societe with the rest, wha socht ther wrak vnder pretext of the Kingis autorite, be the Regent, the Erle of Mortoun and some vthers ther vnfrendis ; requesting him to be ther protectour and help them during the Kingis minorite ; and how that they at the first wald fayn haue aflisted the Kingis autorite, bot culd not get place nor be admitted. Sa he that wes vilipendit with the Kingis lordis, and futed be the Quenis lordis, was compellit to jun with that fyd at lenth ; having with him the Lord Hum malcontent, alsò the secretery Liddingtoun and Sir James Balfour, spurring him to tak that course. Being sa casten af, he was compellit, for his nyxt refuge, to jun planly with the Quenis fyd, efter that he amang the rest was sumondit to be forsald, as ye fall heir.

P. 125. Now the twa furious factions being framed on this maner, the hatred and rage against vther grew daily greter and greter. For Mester Randolphe knew the diuersities that wer amang the noblemen and the nature of euery ane in particulaire, be his oft commyng and lang residence in Scotland. Amang the ladyes, he had a mother and a mestres, to whom he caused his Quen oft send commendations and takens. He alsò vied his craft with the ministers, and offerit gold to dyuers of them. Ane of tham that wes very honest, refused his gift ; bot he tald that his compaignion tok it, as be way of charite. I am not certane gif any of the rest tok presentis, bot vndoubtedly he offerit to sic as wer in meatest rowmes, to cry out against factions heir or ther, and kendle the fercer fyre ; sa that the parties wer not content to feicht and sched vthers bluid, bot wald flyet with injurious and blaffemus wordis, and at lenth fell to the doun casting of vtheris housses ; wherunto England

lent ther help, be a number of men of wair, that cam in and cuft down Hamiltoun, becaufe of a mynt that wes maid be fome gud minifters till agre the twa parties.

Then as Nero ftod vp vpon a high part of Rome, to fe the town burnyng quhilk he had caufed fet on fyre, fa Mefter Randolphe delyted to fe fic fyre kendlit in Scotland ; and be his wretingis to fome in the court of England, glorified him felf to haue brocht it till pafs, in fic sort that it fuld not be gottin eafely flokenit again. Whilk when it cam to the knowlege of Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, he wret in Scotland to my brother and me, and aduertift us how we wer handled ; detefting baith Mefter Cicill as director, and Mefter Randolphe as executour. As I haue faid, all the honeft men in England wer fory at it ; of the quhilk number ther ar as many within that contre, as in any vther fa mekle boundis in Europe.

My brother and I fchew vnto the Lard of Grange, and to famany within the caftell as wer fecret, of this wreting from Sir Nycholas ; quhilk they beleued eafely, as men that had gret intelligence, and that had marked Mefter Randolfes proceedingis of befoire. Wherupon ther was fome fecret metingis drawn on, between the Lord Hum and the Lord Ruthven, as neir kinfmen. The L. Ruthven was in greteft fauour with the Regent for the tym, and treforer. He was defyred to com and fpeak with my L. Hum, during the hetteft of the ciuill warres. At what tym, the fecretary Liddington and my brother entrit with the Lord Ruthven, efter that he and the L. Hum had fpoken a fpaice together, and fchew him how that the Regent wes vfed be England, and how that the contre wes vfed ; and alfo how that the Erle of Morton had defyred fecretly to com at midnycht, accompanied with Mefter Archebald Douglas, to the caftell of Edenbrough, and had lang confer-

ence with them; desyryng ther assistance, and he fuld chaise the Erle of Lenox bak till England, sa that they wald accept and acknowlege him for Regent in sted of the other. Quhilk they of the castell wald not grant to do, bot lyked weill of the Erle of Lenox, as of a trew Scottisman; and that ther lying abak fra assisting him wes, he being fend for and brocht in by them. And therefore fearit at the first, that he wald be ouer far at the deuotion of England, as ane Englisman hauing yet his wyf, bairnis, and landis in that contre; and mairouer, that he fuld be sa led be the Erle of Morton, and vthers factious ennemys to the L. Hum [and] the secretaire, that he wald seak ther vtter wrak; baith because that capten Craffort, wha had accused the secretaire, was seruant  
 P. 126. for the tym to the Erle of Lenox, and allegit that he had commissioun fra the said Erle to geue in the said accusation. And that quhilk geue matter enough to my L. Hum, was the inbringing of the Erle of Lenox be the Erle of Suffex, and the taking of his tua houses of Hum and Falscastell, all at a tym, quhilk he supponit not to be done by the Erle of Lenox consent. Bot sen they vnderstod how the Erle of Lenox, and the hail contre wes bot abused and misvfed with England be Mester Randolphe, assisted with the Erle of Mortoun, they wer deliberat baith till agre them selues, and to cause all Scotland agre with the Regent, gene they can get a raifonable meeting.

My L. Ruthven was very glaid of this offer, and said he hopped to bring them a meting and a gud answer fra the Regent; and the rather because the Erle of Mortoun [was] absent, as a mall content for the refusing to him of the bischoprik of St Androwes, quhilk the Kingis house and the Regentis mycht ill spair. Sa he returnit to the Regent with this offer, wha tok it in a very gud part; and efter anis or tuyfe passing

betwen, the Regent with the L. Ruthven had concludit a paice quyetly in ther myndis, making nane preuy therto as yet. Bot as ambaffadouris ar gret spyys, and commonly fuspitious, Mester Randolphe wha lay at Leith, delt ernesly with the Regent to geue the bishoprick of S<sup>t</sup> Androwes to the Erle of Morton ; and allegit that the Quen his mestres had wreten to him in chiffer for that effec, quhilk sche fuld recompense to him with a better commodite ; and that hir Maieste wald be very angry incaice he did it not, as he fuld cause hir handwret to com to him self theranent.

Sa when the Regent had granted this to Mester Randolphe, he aduertist incontynent the Erle Mortoun to com to the court, quhilk he did with diligence, and vsed all the contrary practyses that he culd to hender any gud agrement ; for as he had filched that benifice in dromly watters. he hopped to fische mair be sic meanis. Ane of his deuyces was, to cause the consaill vot and direct the Erle of Bouchan, to tak me prisoner out of my awen house ; bot I wes at a brydell in Forthell, wher the said erle cam, and with whom I went willingly, albeit I had frendis anew ther for the tym, that offerit to chaife him bak again. Bot I wald not preuge my iust cause without purpos ; for the Erle Bouchen was of a discret and gentill natur, and schew me that they had nothing to ley to my charge, bot to se gif I culd be ane gud instrument of concord ; and willit me when I wes in Leith, to send vp word to the castell of Edenbrough, and allege that my lyf wes in parell, incaice they wald not render the house to the Regent. I said, that it wes a bairnly taill, and maruelit of ther wisdome, that mycht knaw how my frendis of the castell wer angrier at me then they wer, for not taking part with them.

The lard of Grange wes not content when he hard that I wes tane :

for he knew how oft I had preffit and perfwadit him to tak plan part with the Regent, and how far I had raifonnit againft the fecretary and Sir James Balfour, in ther proceedingis with the Quenis faction ; feing that ſche was captywe, in ſic ſort as nother mycht ſche mak them help, nor they hir, except that ſche wald be the ſtraitlyer gardit and kepit in England. Hearing a faction to be ryſen vp in hir name, wald ſuppone that ſche was in ſome hope of haifty liberte, be ſome practyfes with the ſubiect in England. Sir James Balfour allegit, that hir Maieſte had frendis in France and vther partis, wha wald the rather do for hir, that they vnderſtod a number of hir nobilite yet on fut profefſing hir autorite. I ſaid that hir only frendis in vther partis, wer in

P. 127. England and France : they that wer in England durſt not preſently, and wald be in the harder eſtair, and in greter danger, for the ſuſpition that wald be had of them ; and hir French frendis wald do hir na gud ; the Quen mother, wha had the cheif reull of the contre, being hir gret ennemy ; and the houſe of Guiſe nather able to mak hir help, nor yet wer they ſur frendis ; as I ſhall ſchaw at mair lenth the proif of my argument, when I haue releauit my ſelf out ther handis that kepit me.

I was declairen, how that the lard of Grange was angry at my taking. I being ſa frac for the Regent, and he ſa willing to jun with him. That ſame nycht, he ſend down a woman out of the caſtell to Leith. with a ticket to me, that he ſuld com that ſame nycht at midnycht, and releaue me out of ther handis ; and had ſend that ſame woman to know how I was keped, and wher I was logit. The Regentis camp lay betwen Leith and Edenbrough, and many of the noblemen and barrons logit in Leith, for euery ane had not pauillons. The lard of Grange had aponted a boit to ly at Granton, and thocht to com ſailen in to



Leith heuen, as gif it wer a boit com ouer the watter ; and thoct caldly without straik to com to my logging, and tak me out of my keepers handis, and pafs vp the watter again, to a part wher he had horfmen in a redines to cary me vp to the castell with him. Bot I wald in na wayes consent therto, affuring him that I was in na danger, and that my L. of Bouchan had promysed me, ay when I plesit, to let me steall away ; quhilk I wald not do, but desyred daily to be tryed. Many of the lordis meruelit wherfor I was tane, feing that I assisted ay with the Regent sen his entre in Scotland. Lykwais the Regent wes miscontent ; sa at lenth it was found, that a very few confellouris knew of my taking. The Erle of Mar a trew nobleman said, that the Erle of Bouchan, for suffring himself to be send, was dafter nor the formair erle his gudfather, wha wes not very wyfe ; bot the Erle of Morton send me word, that nathing fuld ail me mair nor his awen hart. For the fassion, they desyred me to find caution, that I fuld serue the Kingis Maieste and his Regent. Sa I wes neuer brocht before the counsaill, bot fet to liberte. Of a treuth, I culd not fe a raifoun to fet vp twa factions sa lang as the Quen wes captywe, nor yet culd fe any outgait for them that professit hir autorite ; wha wald fayn haue assisted the Kingis lordis, bot wer not accepted, and therfor necessite drawe them to defend them selues vnder the schadow of some autorite.

The rest of my raifouns, why the Quen wald get na help out of France be hir awen frendis, nor yet be the Quen mother, ar thir. The Quen mother wes not weall vfed, sa lang as our Quenis first husband K. Francis 2. lyued. The counsaill and estaitis of France desyres not the vnion of this yll. For proif, efter that my brother Sir Robert, when he retournit the first tym of his ambassage out of England, brocht



P. 128. the hand wretis of xxv principall erles and lordis of England, to fet the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head; and that the captens in fchyres wer alredy named be the saidis lordis, to be in a redines to marche fordwart when they fuld be chargit; only they stay-ed vpon the Quenis opportunitie and aduertifment. The Quen incontinent wret in France, to hir oncle the Cardinall of Lorrain, willing him to fend heir ane of his maist secret faruandis; to whom sche mycht communicat matters of sic wecht and importance, that sche wald nother hazard to fend them in wret nor chiffers. The said Cardinall fend in heir ane of his famylier secretaires; to whom the Quen caused my brother and me declair at lenth, the maner of the estait of England, as is abone specified; defyren hir said oncle to fend his aduyse anent the tym, and word what help he and all his frendis with ther moyen mycht mak, to land other few or many schippis, bot with a contenance of men, at sic a part of England; and gif he and they mycht mak na help, to kepe secret; it wald be easely enough brocht till pafs. This secretair being retournit to his maister, infourmed him of the haill matter. The cardinall again, to won thankis of the Quen mother, and to appear to be a trew Frenchman, schew the Quen mother, how hurtfull to the crown of France wald the vnion of the yll of Bretan be; and thocht met that sche fuld aduertife the Quen of England to tak ordour therintill, quhilk the Quen mother failed not to do. Bot the Quen of England gaif hir na credit, bot rather supponit it to be ane Italien fetche, to put hir in suspition of hir nobilite. This the Quenis Maieste tald me hir self, complenen of the cardinallis vnkyndly dealing. Therfor I said, that ther wes na help to be loked for out of France; and the Duc of Alb, wha was in Flanders, had planly refused

to mak any help, till the K. his mefter wald command him ; and that he had anough ado, to fattle his maifters awen fubiectis in Flanders.

Thir wer the argumentis that I vfed to moue my frendis to agre with the Regent ; and they wer at a neir point, be the dealing of the tua lordis Hum and Ruthven, affifted be the fecretary Lidingtoun ; for the Lord Hum wald then do nathing without his aduyfe.

Bot efter that the Erle of Morton wes returnit to the court, and had obteanit the biſchopry of St Androwes, be Meſter Randolphes moyen, they tua ſuſpecting the apperant agreement, quhilk wes kepit ſecret from them, deuyfed incontinent how to hender the ſame, be the holding of a parlement, wherin to forfalt all ther ennemys ; wherby the Regent fuld wrak vtterly his ancient ennemys the Hamiltouns, and euery ane of the Kingis lordis ſuld get landis and geir anough ; and Meſter Randolph promyſed ſic fecfull aſſiſtance of England, that ther culd be na refiſtance maid be ther ennemys. The Erle of Mortoun again had gret gyding of the maiſt part of the counſaill, to perſuad them conſent to a parlement, to be halden in Stirling for the foirſaid effect.

The Quenis lordis again, to be equall with them, held another parlement at Edenbrough, baith at a tym, ilk ane till forfalt vther. The Lard of Grange in the mean tym had gret diſpleafour to ſee Scottiſmen ſa furiously bent againſt vther, be the practyſes of England, and extreme greedines of ſome Scottis lordis, that intendit till augment ther rentis, be the wrak of ſome of ther nybours whom they enuyed. Therefore ſend for the lard of Ferniheth his gud ſone, and the lard of Ba-

clouch, father to this preſent lard, wha louit the lard of Grange better than any of his awen kin ; quhilk lard of Baclouch was a man of rare qualites, wyſe, trew, ſtout and modeſt. Thir twa lardis wer deſyred to

com weall accompanied, and arryuit at Edenbrough in ane euenyng lait. The lard of Grange had alrede deuyfled ane enterpryse, to wit, that same nycht efter they had soupped them selues and baitted ther horse, to ryd all nycht fordwart with them to Stirling, to be ther early in the mornyng or any of the lordis that held the parlement wer out of ther beddis ; hopping be his intelligence assuredly to surpryse them before they culd be aduertist. All the lordis and confaill fand his deuyce exceding gud, bot they wald in na wayes grant that he fuld ryd with them, alleging that ther only confort vnder God consisted in the preferuation of his persone. He again allegit that his prefens with them wald be nedfull, for he wes experimented with difficill enterpryses, and fearit that they fuld not folow richtly nor cairfully his direction ; bot they promysed to folow it restrictly, and wald not suffer him to ryd with them. Bot the Erle of Huntly, my L. Arbroith, and my Lord of Paiceley and dyuers others, raid fordwart with the forces of the twa lardis, and wer at Stirling before four houres in the mornyng, and entered in the toun of Stirling at a little passage, led be a townis man callit George Bell ; quhilk entre wes immediatly efter that the nycht watches wer retired to ther rest. Sa being the first aduertisers, they denydit ther men, and appointed sic as wer thocht meatest to await vpon euery lordis logging, and a company with Capten Hackerstoun to stand at the market croise, to cause gud ordour be kept, and to saif the town houses from being spoiled ; only the stables to be cleangit be Baclough and Farnihelstis men, not to leaue a horse in the town oncaried away with them ; quhilk the southland childer forget not to do for ther part. Bot becaufe Capten Hackerstoun cam not in dew tym with his company to stand wher he was appointed, a number of vnreuly faruandis

brak vp the marchandis boithes, and ran heir and ther in difordour efter the spoilze, and left ther maisters ther alain, efter they had tane out the haill lordis out of ther logingis, and wer leading them captyues doun the stay caffay of Stirling vpon fut, intending to loup vpon ther horfe at the nether port, and ryd till Edenbrough with ther prifoners. Bot when they that wer within the castell of Stirling perfault the gret rouffill and schame they wald refaue, gene they schew not them felues lyk men, and feing the difordour of ther ennemys, they cam down fercely vpon them and refcowed them all, faving the Regent that ane cam and fchot behind his bak, directed fra my L. of Pacelay as was allegit. The Lard of Wilmeftoun wes the taker of the Regent, and wes appointed be the lard of Grange to await vpon him, and to faif him from his particuleir ennemys ; for they all promysed him at ther parting fra Edenbrough not to fla a man, or elis he wald not grant to byd behind them. Wilmeftoun wes alfo flain, againft the Regentis will, wha cryed continowaly to faif Wilmeftoun, wha did what he culd for his preferuation. The Regent died not fodaynly, bot fome dayes efter, and maid a very godly end. They that had tint this fair enterpryfe for falt of Granges prefens, had anough a do to faif them felues, and had bene all tane, wer not they of Stirling wantit horfe to perfew efter them ; for they that had tane the horfe, raid ther gaitis with all poffible fpeid, and left ther maisters behind them in danger.

P. 130. When they wer retournit bak till Edenbrough, they wer very vnwelcom geftis to the lard of Grange ; wha lamented hauely for the Regentis flachter, and faid, gene he knew wha did that foull deid, or wha directed it to be done, he fuld tak reuenge therof with his awen hand. And wheras of before he vfed to be meak and gentill, he now bourfted

out with hard langage against the diforder and gredines of them, and callit them inafflers and beaftis ; for he knew the Regent inclynit to the paice, and wes not yugnorant how he wes dryuen be Mefter Randolphe and the Erle of Mortouns practyfes, to hald the faid parlement, to the hendrance of concord and agrement. Therefore his intention was to bring all the Kingis lordis to the castell of Edenbrough, and fet down a gud agrement before they fuld get fourth ; bot God wald not haue it till our vickednes mycht be better puniffed ; for the parlementis held fordwart, and ilk ane of the tua parties forfalted vthers.

The Kingis lordis cam and lay at Leithe, and the Quenis within the town and castell of Edenbrough. Mefter Randolphe wald haue had the Erle of Mortoun maid Regent, in plaice of the Erle of Lenox ; bot the lordis lyked better of the Erle of Mar, and cheifed him. For a whyll ther wes het fkirmyfching betwen Leith and Enbrough, and extrem hattrent betwen the twa factions, and gret creweltie wher they mycht be maifter of vtber ; and oft tymes the marfchall of Berwik cam to Leith, to affift Mefter Randolphe inwartly, and to find fault with his proceedingis outwardly, when he mycht get opportunitie to fpeak or fend word to them of the toun of Edenbrough and castell therof. Quhilk my L. of Mars frendis perfault, and him felf at lenth ; wherthrow he began to be caulder in the quarell, and drew him felf to Stirling, and aduyfed with his frendis what was meteft to be done ; al- leging that he culd fe naething bot the wrak of the contre, vnder pretext of King and Quenis faction or autorite ; and that nother King nor Quen was in any of ther myndis, bot only pouffit be ther awen par- cialites of ambition, gredines, and vengeance ; England kendlen vp baith parties, and then lauchen them all to fcorne.

After this conference, Capten James Kuningame feruant to my L. of Mar, a discreit gentilman, desyred a secret meting with my brother Sir Robert. In the mean tyme, the maist part of the Kingis lordis past to Stirling wher the Regent wes, leauing my L. of Mortoun in Dalkeith, and my L. Lindsay in Leith. When the warres grew caulder, and word thair of cam to ther knowlege in England, a new ambassadour wes haisted to com in Scotland, to wit Mester Hary Killigrew, ane auld frend and acquaintance of myn; for Mester Randolphe wes retournit hame, because he had not sic credit with the Erle of Mar, and had lost the fauour of baith the factions, except only with the Erle of Mortoun; for his double dealing was discouert.

P. 131. This new ambassadour being arryuit at Leith, vpon his way toward Stirling wher the Regent remanit for the tyme, he send vp to the castell of Edenbrough to se gif I wes ther, for they had tald him in Leith, that I wes new com ouer the watter. He desyred that I wald com and speak with him; quhilk I did, and convoyed him vnto Cramont, raifonyng together all the way vpon sic matters as he said he had in commiffion, cheifly how he mycht be a gud instrument to agre the differentis that was betwen the twa parties; albeit ther was na thing les in his mynd, at least in his commiffion. He said he had commiffion from the Quen his mestres, to deall with baith the parties for ther concord; bot mair cairfully, and with the aduyse of manyer loving frendis, vnto them of the castell then with ther contrair party. And albeit that outwardly he behoued first to pass wher the Regent was, to geue him that prerogatywe, yet in effect my frendis of the castell fuld be preferrit, baith be his first salutation to them be me, and be twa famylier wretings, the ane from my L. of Leycester to the lard of



Grange, and the vther from the ſecretary Cicill to the ſecretary Liddingtoun; willing me to prey them to follow and credit the aduylſe geuen therin be the ſaidis lordis, to them whom they louit entierly for ther vertus and auld acquaintance; and willit me to tell them, that efter he had declaired his commiſſion to the Regent, he fuld com bak again to them, and declair at lenth his commiſſion from hir Maieſte.

It appearit that he had intelligence, how that Meſter Randolphe double dealing was diſcouert, and ſeamed to find ſome faltis with him; bot he excuſed him ſa far as he culd, vntill I adjurit him ſa, vpon the lang and great famyliarite that had bene betwen us, to deall planlier with me; and tald him that he mycht ſerue his meſtres trewly anough, on caſten me and my frendis vpon a wrang fyd, quhilk mycht be efterwart our wrak; wha had deſerued better at his hand then till put us in ſic danger, be the commown practyſes of contrees, as thocht we wer vntowart and vnhoneſt and on conſellable; as Meſter Randolphe had done, forgetting the fraternite in religion, ſa weall groundit amang us during ther baniſſement in France for religion. Then he wes compellit to grant vnto me, that his commiſſion and his mynd went not a way; and that he wes imployed againſt his will, and as a ſaruaund durſt not diſobey his princeis, and ſaid he wald geue me his loving conſaill and warnyng.

He ſaid, that the Quen and Conſaill of England nother buildit ther courſe heir vpon the lait Regent, nor yet vpon this Regent, bot entierly vpon the Erle of Morton; afweill of ther awen plat layed long ſence, as be the information of Meſter Randolph, wha has confirmed them in that oppinion, ſa that they will not alter for na contrary perſuaſion; willing my frendis and me jun our courſe, and band with the Erle of



Mortoun, or elis to look for na frendſchip out of the court of England, bot hurt and wrak ſa far as they mycht. For albeit he wes not Regent, they knew that he had a gret frendſchip in the contre, quhilk they wald increaſe ſa far as they culd ; that whoſoever wer Regent, fuld get litle or nathing done by his conſent. In this I thoct he delt planly, and ſa did my frendis of the caſtell ; yet they culd not find in ther hartis to jun with him, albeit he futed them and offerit to hald vp the Quenis autorite ; for they thoct his courſe vnſure for the King and ſateling of the eſtate, and ouer far addicted to England.

Efter that this ambaffadour had bene with the Regent in Stirling, and com bak again to Edenbrough, he tald the reſt of his commiſſion to them of the caſtell ; to whom he vſed him ſelf bot lyk ane ambaffadour, as he was directed. Generally he ſayd, that he fand them mair raiſonable than the Regentis party. Then he paſt to Dakeith, to meit with the Erle of Mortoun ; and then ſtayd at Edenbrough, to await vpon meit occaſions and informations, how to proceed conform to the tenour of his inſtructions.

P. 132. This new ambaffadour had commandement to tary in Scotland for a tym, to ſe gif he mycht conquys aſmekle credit as to ſerue ther turn that ſent him. And becauſe I wes of his greateſt acquaintance, he cam with me to my houſe, and taried a few dayes to refreſche his ſpirit. And efter that I had convoyed him bak again to Edenbrough, he ſchew me ſome articles of his inſtructions, ane of the quhilkis wes : “ Item, gif the capten of the caſtell will condiscend, that all the differentis that ar now in queſtion amang the Scotis, be referrit to be diſcydit before us and our conſaill, as the reſt of the Kingis lordis haue granted alredy, we ſalbe his gud frendis, and mentean him in his office,

and geue him ane honnorable pension." To do the quhilk he gaue a plain refuse, and sayd it wald preiuge his prince and contre. Bot that and his vther refuses of before, coist him his lyf efterwart.

About this time, my L. Regent fend a wreting for me to be at him with deligence. At my commyng to him, he maid a hauy mean for the ciuill troubles that wer kendled in the contre, be the craft and malice of some in England, and some in Scotland ; taking the coulour of this or that autorite, and yet wer only moued be ther awen particularites, to the hurt baith of King, Quen and contre ; desyring me that I wald pass to the castell of Edenbrough, and schew them as of my awen head, "and not as fra me, that ye vnderstand that I perfaue, albeit ouer lait, how that we ar all led vpon the yce, and that all gud Scottifmen wald fayn agre and fadle the estait ; and they in speciall, gif they culd get a meting, quhilk ye ar assured they may get of me, gif they wald sut the same ; and offer your self to be the instrument to bring on a gud agrement between them and me, quhilk fall with Godis grace tak gud effect, at your retournyng with ther raifonable offers and answer."—Wherupon I past till Edenbrough, and fand them all inclynit to paice and quyetnes with litle persuations ; for they wer at a neir point of before with my L. of Lenox ; and some conference had bene between Capten James Kuningame and my brother of before. At my retournyng to the Regent, he wes very glaid, and said he knew that the honest men, seing the Quen wes captywe, to whom ther professing of hir autorite culd do na gud bot euell, wes euer willing to cese fra ciuill discord, bot wer be practyses casten against ther willis vpon a contrary course.

Then he inquiryed, vpon what condiffions the capten and his frendis

wald agre. I said that the lard of Grange wald not fell his dewty to his prince and contre, for na commodite, bot wald serue the King and his Regent to fettle the estait, sa lang as the Quen wes detenit in England; and gene God pleased to grant hir libertie, they douted not bot that sche and the King hir sone fuld agre betwen them selues, wherunto all honest and gud subiectis on baith fydis wald hald hand. And presently, they for ther partis desyred na mans land nor geir, but only to bruik peiceably ther awen lyuynge; only that the Regent wald cause pay certain dettis, contracted for repairing of the castell and arteillerie. Quhilk conditions the Regent promysed to fulfill, and to be ane assured frend to Grange, and them of the castell in particulaire; and without any farther cerimonies, callit the lard of Tullibarden his gud brother before, and efter that he had declaired vnto hym how far we had proceedit, he choppit his hand in myn, and fswore the paice in presence of the said lard; wha had also bene a gud instrument to the said agreement, together with his man of law, Mester Clement Litle, a very honest man, brother to Willyem Litle, efterwart prouest of Edenbrough. Na ma wer maid preuy therto, bot my Lady Mar and Capten James Kuningame.

P. 133.

Efter this the Regent past till Edenbrough, to conuene the lordis and counsaill, to schew them the calamities that the ciuill warres producit, and let them se how necessaire agrement and ane fattelit estait wald be to the haill contre. And in the mean tyme, vntill the appoynted counsaill day, he past to Dalkeith, wher he wes weill traited and banketed with my Lord of Mortoun. And shortly efter, he tok a vehement feaknes, quhilk caused him ryd to Stirling sodanly, wher he departed this lyf, and wes regreted of many. Some of his frendis and the vul-

gair people, spak and suspected that he had gottin wrang, and others, that it wes for displeasour.

The Erle of Mortoun, efter the discese of the Erle of Mar, was maid Regent, England helping therto at ther power. Sa schone as he was chosèn, he sent for me ; declairen how that against his mynd and will, the lordis had bourdenit him with that feschious office ; quhilk seing he behoued till accept, he wald wiis that he mycht stand the contre and commown weall in some steid. First, he wald desyre the help of all gud and honest men, to draw on peace and concord, to the quyeting of the estait ; preing me, as ane of whom he had euer a gud lyking, to trauell with my frendis of the castell for that effect, and to persuad them to ga forduart with him, as they wer myndit to do with the Erle of Mar ; assuring me, that nane of the formair Regentis had at any tym bene mair willing then he was presently, to put ane end to the ciuill troubles, nor that suld remember les vpon the parcialites past ; and that the Regent suld not reuenge the Erle of Mortouns quarelis, bot wha euer wald serue the King and be his frend, he wald embrace them and debait them, vpon what fynd or faction soeuer they had bene of before ; and luk vpon what conditions they delt with the Erle of Mar, they suld haue the same or better of him. I suld haue the pryourie of Pittenweme for my labour ; the lard of Grange, the bischoprik of Santandrowes, and castell of Blaknes ; and euery ane that wer within the castell, restored to ther landis and possessions as of before.

It was very hard to bring on this agrement with the Erle of Mortoun, for the euell oppinion quhilk was conceaued of him, and for the foull and hurtfull markis that they supponit, be some proifis and apperances, that he wald schut at ; being ouer gredy of nature, ouer gret

with England, and ouer fearfull that the K. wald be his wrak ; wherof a lady that was his leman, had schawen him the answeres of the oracles. Yet the lard of Grange, wha was euer willing to se concord in the contre, was easely persuadit. The L. Hum and Liddington maid some resistance at the first, bot wer also content at lenth. Sa that efter I had past tuse or thryse betwen, they apperit to be agreed in ther hartis ; and for supperabondance, the lard of Grange said, that he fuld cause all the rest of the Quenis faction to agre with the Regent ; bot to tak the bischoprie of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes and the castell of Blaknes he refused, and wald haue nothing bot his awen landis.

P. 134. When I returnit to the Regent, with ther answer conform to his desyre, he was maruelous glaid ; bot when I declaired, that the lard of Grange wald be a gud instrument, to cause all the rest of the Quenis faction agre also with him, he said that it was not meit. And when I raisonit against him, and schew him how that I had spoken in his name, that he was myndit to agre all Scotland, and that Grange had na quarrell of his awen, bot to help a number of noblemen that requyred his protection during the Kingis minorite ; and requested the Regent till agre anes with them altogether, for Grange honour, and efterwart he and all they of the castell fuld band with him, and lay a fyd all vther bandis. The Regent answerit and said, “ James, I will be plane with you. It is not my weill to agre with them all ; then ther faction wil-be as stark as it is, wherby they may some day circomvene me gif they lyked. Therefore it is my weill to devyd them ; and mair ouer, ther hes bene gret combres in this contre this whyll bygain, and during them, gret wrangis and extortions committed, for the quhilk some fasson of punisshment mon be maid ; and I wald rather that the crymes

fuld be layed and liecht vpon the Hamiltouns, the Erle of Huntely and ther adherentis, then vpon your frendis ; and by that, I will get mair proffit be ther wrak, nor be the wrak of them of the castell, that haue nother sa gret landis nor escheitis for us to wonne, and for to be the reward of our laboures. Therefore schaw Grange and your frendis, that other mon they agre by the Hammiltouns, therles of Huntly and Argyll, or the saidis lordis will agre without him and them of the castell." To this I answereit, that I vnderstod him ; that his speach wes very plain.

With this I past again to the castell, and reherfit our haille reafonyng. Bot Grange said, that it wes na godly nor iust dealing, to lay the wyet vpon them that was richeft, for ther landis and geir, and not vpon them that wer guiltyeft ; for the noblemen wer ay willing till agre, efter that the Quen wes kepit in England, bot culd not be admitted. And yet, gene now they wald abandoun him, and agre by him and them that wer with him, he had deserued better at ther handis ; yet he had rather that they shuld leawe and disceawe him, then that he shuld do it vnto them.

When the Erle of Mortoun perfauit that Grange shode stie vpon his honestie and reputation, he apperit to lyk him the better, and seamed that he wald ga fordwart with them of the castell ; and send vp Carmichell, at my desyre, to heir out of ther awen mouthes sa far as I had spoken in ther name. They of the castell lykways send Pittadrow to the Regent, to heir out of his awen mouth sa far anent the agrement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatsoeuer mycht chance efterwart.

Then the Regent asked, at what tyme the castell of Edenbrough shuld



be delyuerit vnto him. I said, within half year. "What securete," said he, "fall I haue for that." I said, I suld be a plege, gif he wald accept me. Then he inquiryed, wherfore I tok sa lang delay. I said, for the first, till all articles and promyses mycht be perfourmed; and lykwayes, because he said that he euer esteemed the lard of Grange to be ane honest man, yet be wrang reportis and practyses, the ministers wer sterit vp to cry out and preach against him; therfor to mak him the mair able, and geue him the greter curage to serue in tym comyng, it wald be a contentement to his mynd to let the world se that, afweill efter the agrement as before, he suld be estymed alyk honest and worthy to kepe the house; and then at the tym apponted, the Regent suld be requested to refaue the castell out of his handis. He apperit to be very weill content with this maner of dealing, and gaif me gret thankis for the trauell that I had tane; willing me to pass hame, and he in the mean tym suld conuene the rest of the noblemen of his fyd, and schew them of his proceedingis, and tak ther aduysé and consent to this gud purpos, quhilk he doutet not to get; and therafter suld send for me again, and put the form of the agrement in wret.

Bot he tok incontinent another course, and send a meit man to the Hammiltouns, the Erles of Huntly, Argyll, and ther dependers and assisters, and offerit them the pacification, by the lard of Grange and them of the castell; quhilk they glaidly agreed vnto without many ceremonies, and send ther wrettingis instantly to the lard of Grange out of St Jhonstoun, lamenting that the necessity of ther hard and strait estait suld compell them to accept the appontement quhilk the Regent had offred vnto them; preing him not to tak it in ane euell part, seing they had na house nor strenth to reteir them into; and gaif him gret



thankis for the help and assistance that he had maid vnto them, quhilk they suld never forget, sa lang as God wald lend them ther lyues.

This was the recompence that this gud gentilman obteanit, for the gret help, hazard and charges done and maid for thir lordis ; not beleuing that the Regent wald be sa malicious as to cast him aff, and not accept his frendship, quhilk he offerit incontinent efter that the rest wer agreed by him. Bot the Regent fra that tym fourth wald heir of na offer, and persuadit the rest of his faction, that they of the castell wer sa proud and sa wilfull, that they wald not grant to serue the King, nor acknowlege him as Regent. And this was publihit and prechit, and yet the contrary was trew ; for they wald haue tane any raisonable appontement. What rage wes in the Regentis mynd, for gredines of ther landis and geir, or what vther thing suld haue moued him to bring in England with ane armye, to besege the castell of Edenbrough, to the dishonour of his prince and contre. Quhilk castell wes offerit a litle of before, to the Erle of Rothies, to be instantly delyuerit into his handis, to be keped to the Regentis behoue, quhilk wes refused ; sa that apperantly he had some vther fetch in his head, then a man estemed sa wyse suld haue had, seing that he mycht haue obtenit his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his deuotion, saving that few number within the castell, that wald haue agreed till any mediocre conditions.

The castell of Edenbrough then wes straitly besegit, with ane Englis armye vnder the conduit of the marchall of Barwik, assisted be all Scotland. They within, seing they culd not be resauit till any composition, debated sa lang as they had any vitales and watter ; for ther draw well dried be the drouthy sommer, and they had na vther watter bot sic as

they fetched, letting men with cordes down ouer the wallis and craig of the castell, to a well on the west fyde, quhilk wes efterwart poifonit ; wherthrow sa many as eschaped the schot, died, and the rest fell deadly feak. Yet the lard of Grange tok in hand, with aucht perfonen, to kepe the castell on tane be force ; of the quhilk nomber the Lord Hum wes ane, my twa brether Sir Robert and Androw, the lard of Pittadrow, and his brother Patrik Echlin.

This resolution being tane, the lard of Cleishe and Mathow Coluill his brother wer sent to the castell, femyng to mak them offers of apontement. Bot ther intent was, to get intelligence of the estait of the house, and to seduce the soldiours that wer yet alyve ; quhilk they did, sa that some fled out ouer the wallis, and vthers wer schot fourth ; for the capten thocht the house in a furer estait, baith for vitalles and vtherwayes, when they wer fourth. The marchall of Barwik seing na apperance to com sped, entrit in contention with the ambassadour, alleging that the Quen his mestres wald get a dishonour, and said he wald tary na langer. Wherupon they without entrit in a new comownyng, and send vp again the lard of Cleishe, to offer them to com fourth with ther armour, bag and baggage ; quhilk was agreed vpon, and that they fuld be restored to ther landis. And becaufe ther landis wer for the tym in vther mens possession, it wes put in ther awen will, whither they wald pass in England with the marchall of Barwik, or remain in Scotland among ther frendis, vntill sic promyses as wer maid them mycht be fulfillit.

The Englis men desyred that the castell shuld be put in ther handis ; bot Grange sent secretly to capten Hum and capten Craffort, and desyred them to com and ly within the bulwark between the house and

the Englis men. Sa he pat the castell in handis of Scotis men, and his persone to pass in England with the marchall, wha was his frend, vntill all promyses mycht be keped to him and the rest, be the meanis of the Quen of England.

On this maner they cam fourth, efter that George Douglas, naturall brother to the Regent, had refault the house. They had all ther weapons and swordis about them, and wer thre dayes at liberte. Sir Robert lay with me at his awen logging. The lard of Grange and the secretary Liddingtoun remanit yet with the marchall of Barwik in his logging, for ther greter securete, becaufe that the people of the town of Edenbrough wer ther gret ennemys. For except a few that taried with in the town, during the ciuill troubles between the parties that lay in Edenbrough and Leith, the maist part of the richest men and marchandis left the town, and past till Leith to tak part with the Regent; therfore ther houses wer spoilged, and they bure gret hattrent to them of the castell.

Bot at the end of thre dayes, they wer all layed handis vpon and keped as prisoners. For some of ther maist malicious ennemys pat easely in the Regentis head, and in the ambassadours, that it wer weall done to request the Quen of England to cause delyuer the haill company in the Regentis handis, to be disponed vpon at his pleasour; alleging that they had na securete bot a bair promyse, quhilk they nedit not till keip. And becaufe they of the castell reposed maist vpon the promyse of the marchall of Barwik, the marchallis wreting wes sa

P. 137. preuenit be the ambassadour, that the Quen of Englandis schairp lettre cam to the marchall, to delyuer them of the castell to the Regent; quhilk he durst not difobey, bot delyuerit them with gret regret, be

raifoun of his promyfe, and returnit malcontent to Barwik. And they of the caſtell wer put in ſtrait keping, and efterwart new lettres wer purcheffit be the Regent from the Quen, that he mycht execut them ; quhilk ſche permitted willingly, for ſche wald haue bene quyt of the Lord Hum and Grange, as of tua trew Scottis men wha wer vnwonnable till England to do any thing againſt ther prince or con tre and the ſecretary Liddingtoun, wer not that he died in Leith before that the reſt wer delyuerit to the ſkamles ; ſome ſupponyng he tok a drink, and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.

As for the Lord Hum,—Alexander of Manderſtoun, Codownknowes, the gudman of North Barwik with the reſt of the Humes, ſpak ſa proud langage and boiſted, that the Regent ſtod aw of them and ſpaired the Lord Humes lyf, wha died ſchortly efter, being wardit in the caſtell of Edenbrough. Meſter Killigrew deſyredn a mair for his reward bot the ſaffetie of my brother Sir Robertis lyf, he was ſa far obliſt of auld to him and me. The compoſition wes kept to all the reſt of the mean gentilmen. The pryour of Kowdingame and lard of Drylaw wer efterwart ſet to libertie. Sindre of the captens of Barwik paſt vp to the caſtell, be the breſche wher the foir wall wes dung down be the canons, that they mycht ſay that they had won the maiden caſtell ; bot this wes efter that the houſe was delyuered ouer to the Regentis brother, wha wald not haue ſufferit them to enter ther with any number.

On this maner, baith England and the Regent wer reuengit vpon that worthy champion, whom they had ſomtymes in gret eſtymation ; wha had done ſic notable ſeruiſe in France, being capten of ane hundredreth leicht horſmen, that he wes extollit be the Duc of Vendome,

Prince of Conde and Duc of Aumall, gouvournours and collomners [coronnells ?] then in Picardie, that I hard the King Hendre 2. point vnto him and said, "Yonder is ane of the maist vailyeant men of our tym." Also the K. vsed him sa familiarly, as to chuse him commonly vpon his fynd; and because he schot faire with a gret schaft at the buttis, the K. wald haue him to schut tua arrowes, ane for his pleafour; and the Gret Constable of France wald not speake with him on couerit; and that K. gaif him ane honorable pension, wherof he neuer socht payment; and England had proif of his qualites, baith againt them vpon the borders, wher he did them dyuers ruffles, and be singular combat vincust the L. Yuers brother, betuen the tua armyes of England and Scotland; and efterwart had sa manfully debaited the libertie of his contre againt the Frenschemen, when they pretendit to erect the reaulm in ane province: and wha laitly had refused the demandis of Mester Randolphe and Mester Killigrew, as is before mentionit, and had reprochit baith the saidis ambassadouris of false and disceatfull deling; and last of all, had refused to put the castell in the handis of Englisemen. Therefore because he wes trew and eafald to his prince and contre, it coist him his lyf; for they baith boisted planly to bring down that proud gyantis pryd, wha presumed to be a nother Wallace, as they allegit. Albeit contrary wayes, he wes humble, gentill and meak lyk a lamb in the house, bot lyk a lyon in the feildis; a lusty, stark and weill proportionit personnage, hardy and of a magnanym courage; secret and prudent in all his enterpryses, sa that never ane that he maid or deuyfed misluckit wher he was present him self; and wher he was victorious, he was very mercifull, and naturally liberal, and ennemy till gredines and ambition, and frend till all men in aduersitie, and fell oft in trouble to debait

innocent men fra sic as wald opprefs them. Sa that thir his worthy qualites, wer also partly causes and instrumentis of his wrak; for they promoued him sa in the oppinions of many, that some loued him for his religion, vprychtnes, manlines; vthers again dependit vpon him for his gud fortoun, and apperant promotion, wherby dyuers of them hoped to be aduancit and rewardit, supponing that honours and offices could not faill till fall to him; quhilkis all he wanted in his awen default, for he fled fra auarice, and abhorrit ambition, and refused findre gret offices, euen the office of Regent, and benefices and gret pensions. Sa, wanting place and substance till reward, he was incontinent abandonit be his gredy and ambitious dependers, sa schone as they saw him at a strait, and drew them to sic vthers as they persauit to schut at mair profitable markis. Then, he was asmeikle enuyed be them that wer of a vill and vnworthy nature, as he was belouit of all honest men. Then, as many haue maid tragicall endis for ther ouer gret gredines and ambition, as did the Erle of Mortoun shortly efter, this gud gentillman perissit for being ouer litle ambitious and gredy. Bot sa schone as the Kingis Maieste cam till perfyt aige, and had knowlege how the estait of the gouernement and contre was handled during his minorite, he caused restore the aires of the said lard of Grange, whom he said was wracked against the appontement with the Regent and the marchell of Barwick; and also ordonit his beanes to be tane vp, and to be buried honorably in the ancient buriall place of his predeceffours in Kingorn.

Efter this, the marchall of Barwick tok sic haui displeasour, becaufe of his promyse, and that the appontement quhilk he had maid with the castell of Edenbrough was not kepit, that he wald tary na langer in his



office at Barwik, feing that he had tint his credit and reputation. For he wes a plain man of warre, and loved sa Grange with his hart, that he spaired to cast down the houses of Ceatoun and Nidre at his request, the tym that he cam in to cast down the house of Hammiltoun; lykwaies all the captens of Barwik lamented the los of sic a worthy capten.

The Regent tryumphed for a whyll, because of the gret affliance that England had maid to him, quhilk they had not done to any of the formair Regentis, bot rather sterit vp parties and factions against them, to hald the contre in discord. The causes that moued them sa till assist him wer, that they belened the auld jelousies betuen the Stuartis and Douglassis suld tak ane end be him; the yong King being in his handis to be disponsit vpon at his pleasour; the Quen his mother being alredy captywe in ther handis; quhilk tua only mycht jun England and Scotland in a monarchie. Therfore abone all vthers, the gyders of the court of England for the tym, wisst them tua to be out of the way, as weil for the gret offences done be them to baith King and Quen, as for the desyre they had in destroying that race and lyn, to place some of ther frendis to succead vnto the crown of England. Sa thinking that the Regentis mark in Scotland and thers in England wer conformable, they set him vp, they fortified him, and establisht his regiment.

P. 139. Bot God of his gudnes sufferit not ther pretences to tak effect; for the Regent wanting aires of his awen body, and having na compeditours to stay him fra doing any thing that he pleasit, when he thocht the tym meit, he drew matters at lenth; and in the mean tym set his haill study how till gather geir, and how till fouk out substance baith fra England and Scotland; mouyng therby England to repent ouer lait



for the want of the lard of Grange, and for that they had not kept him in England, to haue bene ane auband ouer the Regent head, as he kept the King to be ane auband to them. And as he was crafty, he was fearfull and flaw of nature ; and he thocht the Erle of Angus his brother sone yet ouer yong, and not capable to comprehend his hid intention, and therfor was lang in refolving. Seruyng his turn in the mean tym with England, as they did with all the world ; when they wer lyk to haue any trouble amang them felues, or with ther nybours, then he compellit them to fend him siluer ; quhilk they did fair against ther hart, with a hid despyt and sècret hattrent at his flawnes on the ane part, and gredynes on the other.

This Regent held the contre vnder gret obedience in ane establisht estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen syn ; for ther was not another Erle of Mortoun to steir vp the sùbiectis in factions, as he vsed to do against the rest of the Regentis. Quhilk maid him fà proud and disdanfull, that he dispyed the rest of the nobilite, and vsed na mans counsaill bot his awen, and becam ingrat to all his auld freindis and faruandis ; and vnder pretext of justice, vsed to commit dyuers wrangis and extorcions ; against the lard of Fentre, for a theif that had eschaiped out of his handis many yeares of before ; against the lard of Seefeild, for a piece land ; and against Mester James Thorne-toun, for his benefice. Sa as that he had tint the fauour of England, fà did he the hartis of all Scotland, bot only of George Afflek and Sanders Jordan. As for the lard of Carmychell, he lamented to me greuously of his ingratitude towardis him, and was myndit to leaw him, vntill I gaue him a counsaill, to help him self be the hurtfull experience of the lard of Grange, and my brother Walter Meluille, wha wes an

gentilman of the Erle of Murrais chamber. Quhilk twa tint him sa fchone as he becam Regent, and lykwais my self; for we had bene lang famylier with him, and had affited him in all his troubles; bot when he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish and tell him his faltis, wherby we tint his fauour. And vthers that had ay bene in his contrair before, cam in and flatterit him in all his proceedingis, and bekkit very laich to him, callen him “your grace” at ilk word. “Thir men,” I said, “wan him, and we tint him; and apperantly,” said I to Carmichell, “ye folow the lyk fulfiche behauour as we did; therefore ye mon tak vp another kynd of doing, now sen your frend is becom Regent. Ymagen that ye wes never acquainted with him of before, bot entrit to serue a new maister. Cast never vp your auld and lang seruice; bek laich, “grace” him at euery word, find na falt with his proceedingis, bot serue all his affections with gret deligence and continowell onwating, and ye salbe sure of a reward. Vther wayes all the formair tym spendit in his seruice salbe tint, and he fall hat yow and tak a dispyt at yow, quhilk may bring on efterwart a greter wreck.” Carmychell gaif me gret thankis, and his hand that he fuld folow this counsaill; quhilk he did restrictly, and becam a gret ear courteour then euer he was, and was baith employed and rewardit, and had credit to do pleafour to his frendis; bot I fand him not thankfull efterwart to me for my counsaill.

P. 140. Now the yong King was brocht vp in Stirling, be Allexander Atkin and my Lady Mar; and had for principall preceptouris, Mester George of Buchwhennen and Mester Peter Yong, the abbotis of Cambuskyneth and Drybrough, branches of the house of Atkin, and the lard of Dromwhassell his Maiesteis maister houshold. Allexander Atkin wes a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loued and lyked of euery

man for his gud qualites and gret discrecion, in na wayes factious nor enuyous, a louer of all honest men, and desyred euer to haue sic as wer of gud conuerlation to be about the prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not sa meit.

The Lard of Dromwhassell, again, was ambitious and gredy, and had greteft cair how till aduance him self and his frendis. The tua abbotis wer wyfe and modest; my Lady Mar was wyfe and schairp, and held the King in gret aw; and sa did Mester George Buchwhennen. Mester Peter Yong was gentiller, and was laith till offend the King at any tym, and vfed him self wairly, as a man that had mynd of his awen weill, be keping of his Maiesteis fauour. Bot Mester George was a stoik philosopher, and loked not far before the hand; a man of notable qualites for his learnyng and knowlege in Latin poesie, mekle maid accompt of in other contrees, plaissant in company, reherfing at all occasions moralites schort and fecfull, wherof he had aboundance, and in-vented wher he wanted. He was also of gud religion for a poet, bot he was easely abusyd, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his auld dayes; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourm-ed him. For he was becom fleperie and cairles, and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion; for he was naturally populaire, and extrem vengeable aganst any man that had offendit him, quhilk was his greteft falt. For he wret dispytfull inuectywes aganst the Erle of Monteith, for some particulares that wes betwen him and the lard of Buchwhennen; and becam the Erle of Mortons gret ennemy, for ane hackeney of his that chancit to be tane fra his faruand during the ciuill troubles, and was bocht be the Regent; wha had na will to part

with the said horſe, he was ſa ſur of fut and ſa eaſy, that albeit Meſter George had oft tymes requyred him again, he culd not get him, and wher he had bene the Regentis gret frend of before, he becam his deadly ennemy, and ſpak euell of him fra that tym fourth in all places and at all occaſions. Dromwhaffell alſo, becauſe the Regent kepit all caſualtes to him ſelf, and wald let nathing fall till vthers that wer about the K., becam alſo his ennemy, and ſa did they all that wer about his Maieſte.

The Regent again, reuling all at his pleaſour, maid na accompt of any of them that wer about the King, vntill a diſcret gentilman callit Meſter Nycholl Elphinfoun aduertit him, how that he was invyed of many and hatted of euery man, ſpecially be them that wer in Stirling with the King; aduſyng him, (albeit ouer lait) to beſtow part of his gold vnto ſamany of them as he beleued wer wonnable. Wha, till ane that was in mean rank, he gaif twenty pieces of gold, at xx lb. the piece. What he gaif till vthers I can not tell; bot ſic as had ſpoken ill of him before, durſt not alter ther langage, becauſe of the Kingis wit and gud memorie, wha culd chek vp any that he perſauit had firſt ſpoken euell, and then began to ſpeak gud again; as his Maieſte had done till ane of the company, alleging that he had chengit his coit, as I was informed

P. 141. for the tym. Sa that the Regent was ouer lang in dealing of part of his gold to them that wer about his Maieſte; wha increſſing in yeares and knowlege, findre gentilmen began to ſut ſeruice and wer onwaters. Amang others, James Stuart ſone to the lord Ogiltre, a yong man of a buſy brain, a quyet tanter, with mirry conceatis, and had ane aſpyring ſpirit, and with tym wan gret fauour and credit with his Maieſte, and not ſa weill lyked be them of the caſtell of Stirling. Yet he was

the mair ouer fean, becauſe he gaue continuell euell information to his Maieſte of the Erle of Mortoun ; and ſa did alſo my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney, wha had bene wardit and hardly handled be the Regent, for ſome ſklent dealing with Denmark as was allegit.

The Regent being on this maner brocht in diffauour with his Maieſte, euen when he was vpon the heicht of the wheill, the Erles of Argyll and Atholl wer ſecretly practyſed, and drawen in to Stirling be Dromwhaffell, with the conſent of Alexander Aſkin meſter of Mar and Meſter George Buchwhennen ; be whais aduſe and conſaill his Maieſte was eaſely mouit to depoſe the Regent out of his office. Wha yeldit and granted eaſelyer therto then any man wald haue beleued, and againſt the oppinion of dyuers of his frendis ; and reterit him ſelf to the houſe of Lochleuen within the loch, for the ſurete of his perſonne, vntill he mycht vnderſtand what wes lyk to be folowed fourth thervpon, and what mycht be the nyxt beſt for him to do.

The Kingis Maieſte hauyng atteanit vnto the age [of twelve] yeares, ordonit a conſaill to ſit in Edenbrough, for the affaires of the realm ; the Erle of Atholl to be chanceler, becauſe the Lord Glames wes a litle of before ſlain in Stirling, be the Erle of Crafford as wes ſuſpected ; wha denyed the deid, and purgit him ſelf ſa far as he culd. The Erle of Argyll, with the meſter of Mar, taried in Stirling with the Kingis Maieſte.

During the tym that this new conſaill ſat in Edenbrough, the Erle of Mortoun, wha wes quyet in Lochleuen making the allees of the garding euen, his mynd was occupied in the mean tym vpon cruiked paithes, with a complot how to be brocht in again to be maiſter of the court. Quhilk was accompliſhit vpon a nycht at midnycht, when he

cam to the gettis of the castell of Stirling. They wer oppenit vnto him be the tua abbotis, and a faction that they had drawn in ther with them, albeit, the Maister of Mar and the Erle of Argyll maid the resistance they culd, wher the Masters eldest sone died in the thrang. Yet the party enterprysers preuailit, wha brocht in again the Erle of Mortoun, and pat out the Erle of Argyll, the Maister of Mar, Drom-whassell, and sic vthers as they mislyked, and sa maid a new chenge in court; wher the Erle of Mortoun handled the matter sa discretly and moderatly as he culd, that the alteration suld not seem to be our schairp or violent. Bot the new chofen counsaill skatterit incontinent; some of them retiring hame, and some junit with the Erle of Morton, trowing never to se a tourn again.

About this tym, cam heir out of France my Lord of Obeny, wha was efterwart maid Duc of Lenox; wha was brother sone to the Erle of Lenox, and obteanit efterwart gret credit and fauour. And James Stuart of Ogiltre, of whom I haue maid mention, assisted him with process of tym, to perswad the Kingis Maieste to desyre to ryd out of Stirling, and mak a progress among the rest of his subiectis; quhilk the Erle of Mortoun wald not resist, supponyng that it lay in his power to fram the court at his plesour; be his gret substance, to won sa many as he thocht necessary; and be the multitude of his frendis, to bear out his busynes, howeuer the court was rewled, efter that he

P. 142. had obteanit ane discharge and allowance of his handling during the tym that he was Regent, abyding alwayes starkest about the King. Bot my L. Obeny and James Stuart wer starkest in fauour; wha be ther continowell rounding in his Maiesteis ear against the Erle of Mortoun, engendreth at lenth a mair mislyking in the King of him, then



he had before ; James Stuart being the sterer vp of the other. And efterwart, when he thocht the tym convenient, he tuk occasion till accuse the said erle, before the consaill, of the lait King his mourther ; wherupon the Erle of Mortoun was constitut prifoner, and fend first to the castell of Edenbrough, and efterwart to the castell of Dombartan. Quhilk was thocht strange, in respect of his many freindis that wer in court for the tym, wha wer then found to be bot frendis of his fortun ; for he was louit be nane, and envyed and hatted be many, sa that they all loked throw ther fingers to se his fall.

England wer also angry at him for the tym, becaufe of his flawnes till outred sic turnis as they hopped for at his hand, having put the King and contre in his power. Yet they maid some contenance to help him, quhilk was rather the cause to haist his wrak ; for they fend down to the borders some companyes, to the number of xvij<sup>c</sup>, boisting to fend in a greter number, and to declair open warres incaice that the Erle of Mortoun wer not set at liberte, and the Lord Obeny put fourth of Scotland. Mester Randolphe wes fend in with this ambasad.

His Maieste again, having thir tua yong men about him, wha knew of na parelis, raifed a taxation to pay wageours, and caufed mak a proclamation euery man to be in a redines ; quhilk moued the Englis to reiteir, and laeue aff fra any farther procuring or making of assistance ; encuraging therby sa many as wer deadly ennemys to the Erle of Morton, to ryd to Dombartan with the forces of a thowfsand wagit hacbuters, by ther awen frendis, and brocht the Erle of Morton bak again to Edenbrough, to thoill asyfe and to be justified. Then some of his frendis conuenit, bot wer not stark enough to raue him out of ther handis ; quhilk they mycht haue done, wer not the forces of hacbuters



that wer newly tane vp, for the countenance and boift that England had maid.

Being brocht till Edenbrough, he fand few frendis to do for him. His gould and filuer was tranfported lang of before, be his fone naturall James Douglas, and ane of his feruandis callit Jhon Makmoran. It was firft caried in barrelis, and efterwart hid in fome fecret partis; and part therof was geuen in keping to fome that wer fupponit to be frendis, wha maid ill compt of it again; fa that the maift part therof leichted in frembd handis, and him felf was fa deftitud of filuer, when he pafte throw the caflie to the towbuith to thoill ane afyfe, that he wes compellit to borow xx*l*. to diftribut to the pure that afkit for Gods faik. The afyfe condemnit him to the death, as for being airt and part of the Kingis mourthour, and as being of counfaill with the Erle Bodowell, wha brocht him out of baniffement when he was abfent for the flaughter of feigneur Dauy. He granted that he was maid preuy therto, bot was not a deuyfer therof. And as concernyng the yong King, he purpofed to put him in England for his weall, and that he mycht the rather obtean his rycht to the crown of England, being within the contre and brocht vp among them. He died refolutly, and had endit mair parfytly, gif he had declaired and confeffit his warldly practyfes, and fetches to enterteny the ciuill troubles, partly at the deuotion of England, and partly for his awen particulier proffit, during the gouernement of the firft thre Regentis; quhilk was caufe of gret bludfchidding, that cryes vp communly vnto the heauen.

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P. 143. During the Kingis yong yeares, the parcialites wer fa gret, and the haill contrey fa parturbit be the twa parties, that allegit them felues to feicht and flyt and stryue for the King and the Quen, hir Maieſté being captywe in England, and the King yet very yong, that many parſaued them to be bot factions, faſſchious, ambitious, gredy, vengeable, warldly, wretchit creatours ; and baith parties craftyly ſterit vp, and halden tu be a only faction in England, wha had that Quenis ear ; intending the wrak afweill of our yong K. as of our Quen, to ſet vp ſome of ther frendis to bruk the crown of England ; quhilk moued [*djuers rthers to cry out againſt the folly of our nation and the malice of our nybours ; thir few verſes wer ſet out amang many rthers be ane that had na will his name ſuld be knawen.*] many to cry out againſt our fuliſche contentions, ſome in proiſe and ſome in meter, as this that follows for ane.

Last when our lordis lay parkit in ane camp,  
 My tent wes stent beſyd them in the park,  
 Phebus be day, Lucyne the nichtis lamp,  
 The ſtarris haill gaue leicht when it wes dark ;  
 All creatures avating on ther wark,  
 Saif only man, declynand in his kynd ;  
 I ſaw and ſiched, and ſaid thus in my mynd.

All maner thing for mannis vse is maid,  
Man till serue God, his nybour for to lowe ;  
All keipis dew course, bot man his lyf dois leid  
In woffull wrang, his vice dois him sa moue,  
Wha till Goddis gloir, and not his awen behoue,  
God did him schaip vnto his similitude.  
Wher is Godis lyknes, what dois man that is gude ?

They hald na reull, they schew na sound exemple,  
Na societe they set them till sustean ;  
Ther bailfull bodys, quibilk suld be Godis temple,  
Ar full of pryd, of hattrent, and vnclean.  
They say na suith, I maruell what they mean ;  
All vther thingis persistis in ther degrees,  
The earth geues corn, we get fruit af the trees,

The feildis ther floirs, of birdis thair pleasant sang,  
The fowlis gifis fuid, the sea gifis fiche anough,  
On hors we ryd our journes oft and lang,  
The ox is ydand euer in the plouche,  
Of scheip our claith, our fyre fourth of the heuch.  
All thy warkis, Lord, delytis to geue the gloir,  
Bot only man declynes ay more and moir.

In this, as my nychtis watche cam me about,  
I spaiced a part fra all the rest allain ;  
That wilsome nycht, when gret cauld wes thairout,  
Ane voice I hard making ane drery mean.  
Then I drew neir, and sat down on ane stain ;  
My body grewed, my hair start vp for fear ;  
The voice spak lowd, and I gaue deligent ear.

“ Till God I mon deploir my grevous smairt ;  
Soir I am hurt, and of help hes gret neid ;  
My wound is inwart, my harme is in my hart,  
Hard to be heild ; my bowelis all dois bleid ;  
Wha can me cure, wha may me mend or feid ?  
Myn awen, whom I haue nurist from ther youth,  
Has done me till this strang thing and vnkouth.”

As I this hard, I had na further fear ;  
Kair was schone chengit intill compassion,  
Thinking schroid sonnes, or souldarts, for hir geir,  
Had sa opprest some honest mattroun,  
Eyther of Leith or of Edenbrough town.  
Then pertly said I, “ Schew me I prey yow, dame,  
Wha has this done, and eik what is your name ?”

Sadly said sche, “ Scotland, your kyndly mother ;  
On all degrees gret cause haue I to plean ;  
Ye hait, ye hurt, and hereis ilk ane other,  
And paice in me ye will not let remain.  
Ye loith religion, justice ye haue slain ;  
Will is your gyd, to raisoun ye gif na plaice ;  
I mourn, I weip, I cry alaice, alaice.”

“ I call to God, wha man mak me redress ;  
Ye can do herme, bot nane of you can hail ;  
Me to releawe, and reward your madnes,  
Restoir me myn, punis you for your faill,  
Onles ye repent and your sins bevaill,  
Rendring to your prince obediens and plaice  
To reull me as they aucht, in justice and paice.

“ All princely powers ar plantit in be God,  
 To mentean richt, till punis wrang and vice ;  
 Whether they represent Godis loue or his rod,  
 Subiectis suld displace nane fra ther office ;  
 As God dois command, do them dew seruice ;  
 Till Ceasar Ceasars, till God only belangis  
 To tak accompt of princes for ther wrangis.

P.144. “ God reules be mercy more then be his mycht ;  
 The warldis rasche reull is bot vexation ;  
 Guid princes reull is just, gentle and liecht ;  
 Lordis reules with gret oppression ;  
 Ministers mon reull without discretion ;  
 Barrons wan reull makis lordis on them till ryd,  
 Bot burges bene reull may learn the leaue to gyd.

“ God not allowes the lewd lyf of ill princes ;  
 The Lord dislykis the warldly foul infection ;  
 He abhores thir lordis proud pretences,  
 Nor pastours that juns with frendis for faction,  
 Not content with conselis corruption ;  
 And als that barrons ar becom sic beastis ;  
 All vnricht reull God vtterly detestis.

“ God knawes abuse to be in all estaitis,  
 He knawes what prelatis commit symonye,  
 He knawes wha causes steir vp thir debaitis,  
 In dromely watters to fische commoditie ;  
 Of such professours the hypocresie  
 He seis, of Juges the deffyled handis,  
 And how some lawers conkis cleantis landis.

" Think ye that honnour consistis in vain weidis,  
 Or noblenes in outward braggis and bruitis ?  
 Gentilnes is kythed be noble deidis,  
 As kyndly trees ar knawen be ther fruitis ;  
 Vertu wrikis alway, and executis  
 Hir worthy warkis, vphalding ay the gud  
 Against the warldis vyll ingratitud.

" The world I call ane monstrous sort of men,  
 Led with passions and cled with yngnorance ;  
 They loue, they hait, they fauour, they misken,  
 Folowing ay false fortouns inconstance ;  
 Wraking the gud, the wicked they aduance,  
 A hydeous heap compoisd of hyders headis ;  
 Ye hait him maist that offers meit remeadis.

" Honour is tint, athoritie is reft,  
 The Quene retenit in captiuitie ;  
 Promys is broken, obedience is left,  
 Rebellion dryues away dewtie ;  
 Loue is ouerlaid with hypocresie,  
 Treuth is fled, and I tyn patience,"  
 (The wyf said weping) " to se sic variance.

" Of subiectis against ther superiours,  
 Of saruandis that dois ther maisters betray ;  
 Then gret fische feidis on ther inferiours,  
 The mother and sone dayly into pley,  
 The husband his wyf, the wyf her man wald sley ;  
 The dochter in law haldis her gud mother in sturt ;  
 All ar inclynit to do till vther hurt.

“ O serpentis seed, why lay ye not a syd  
Your poison, when ye get posterite ?  
That ther complexion mycht be clean and void  
Of your corruption and perversitie ;  
As dois some serpentis with fisches in the see ;  
At ther metingis nane will ther maik defyll ;  
Bot ye pass not how many ye begyll.

“ I mean the serpent amorous of a fische  
Callit Murena, or euer he com neir,  
First spoutis fourth his venome, syn siffis hisch ;  
At whais whisling, Murena with mery cheir  
To meit hir maik with speid sche dois compeir ;  
Bot ye ar lyker to vipers generation,  
Vndoing other without compassion.

“ When vipers gendres togither in ther kynd,  
The maill in femelis mouth putis in his head ;  
Then sche again, maist crewell and vnkynd,  
Bytis aff the same, wherthrow he getis his dead ;  
Syn an slap throw the mothers syd is maid  
Be her awen cankred kitlins sche is keild,  
And they euen sa ar used in ther eild.

“ The gretest wrak that may com in ane land,  
Is in it self to haue diuision ;  
Ane end a rod, the other is an wand,  
To plaig them selfis with my perdition.  
The just reward of ther defection,  
They drink the dregis of Godis wrath and yre ;  
Com hunger and pest, ye haue elis sword and fyre.”



As I beheld methocht ane sorrowful sicht  
To see the wyf mak dull sa dolorous,  
To me allane schawing baith wrang and richt,  
That I inquiryed of this stait parellous,  
The cause that makis them to be quarellous,  
What succes mycht ensew vpon ther dedis ;  
Sche bad me wret what thow heirafter redis.

Yet I asked at hir to knaw be name,  
Whom sche thocht cheifest cause of hir distress ;  
Sche said, " My sone, I wer worthy of blame  
Gif I suld not some of ther names express,  
Thoch dyuers vthers heirin dois transgress ;  
Thir few mens factis maist fercely wholmes the whell  
On me, them selfis, and on ther commoun weill."

. . . . .

P. 145. Efter that the Erle of Mortoun, the last of the four Regentis, was depofed, the Kingis Maieſte being yet yong, of            yeares, tok the gouvernement in his awen handis. My Lord of Obeny, being maid Lord of Dakeith and efterwart Duc of Lenox, was cheiffeſt about his Maieſte; and James Stuart of Ogiltre, wha efterwart tok vnto him ſelf firſt the ſtyll, and ſyn the erldome of Arran to him ſelf; thinking that he had deſerued weall for the accuſing and wraking of the Erle of Mortoun; and alſo tok vnto him the Erle of Marche wyf, baith without any gret richt or raiſoun. The Duc was of nature vpricht, juſt and gentill; laking the experience of the eſtate of the contre; at the firſt maiſt gydit be James Stuart and his wyf; wha baith began ſecretly to enuy him, and ſe how they mycht caſt him, that they mycht haue the gyding ther allane. And for that effect they gaue him wrang aduyls, and ſineſter informations againſt ſindre of his beſt frendis, moving him to ſodain wraith, without trew tryall, to ſtart at them. Quhilk being perſauit be ſome that lovit him for the Kingis cauſe, it was oft tymes remedied, and vther tymes preuenit; bot it was ſa oft renewed again, that at lenth it tok the deſyred effect; not without the practyſes alſo of England, wha be ther ambaffadour ſterit vp ſindre againſt him, alleging him to be a papift, altogether at the Duc of Guiſe deuotion, and therfor a dangerous man to be about his Maieſte. Bot his cheiffeſt falt was, that he being trew to the King, he was thocht vnwonnable to ther behoue, as he wes indede. Meſter David Magill, and Meſter Hendre Keir wer his cheif conſellours; baith wyſe enough

for ther awen profit, bot cairles of his standing, therefore vnmeit to reull him wha wes in gretest fauour with his Maieſte. He firſt was alterit vpon his loving frend the Meſter of Mar, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, lykwayes vpon Sir Willyem Stuart, capten of Dombartan, vpon Allexander Clark, proueſt of Edenbrough, and vpon the Erle of Gowry treforere, at the inſtigation and wrang information of the Erle of Arran and his wyf.

Then the reſt of the nobilite wer miſcontent, to ſe thir twa yong lordis cheif doers in court, ſupponing them baith to ſchut at noble-mens lyues, for ther landis; and albeit ſome of them miſlyked the Erle of Mortons proceedingis, they thocht the wey taking of his lyff ane hard preparatywe. Therefore a number of them conſulted togyther, before they had ſufficient proif of the Duc of Lenox gud qualites, to diſplace baith him and the Erle of Arran; and at leaſt to ſend them baith hame, the ane to France, and the other farther aff, incaice he eſchapit with his lyf; in the mean tym, to thring them ſelues in about the yong King, and keip him, vnder pretext of a neceſſary reformation; and his Maieſte being environit with ther forces, to preſent vnto him ane humble ſupplication, ſa ſchone as he ſuld com to Domfermeling, wher he had apointed to com at his retournyng out of Atholl, wher he wes for the tym at the hunting.

P. 146. At this hyland hunting his Maieſte was very quyet, only accompanied with his domiſtykis. The Duc of Lenox taried for the tym in Dakeith, the new Erle of Arran at Kynneill. Many of the conſaill wer appointed to hald juſtice aires in dyuers ſchyres of the contre. I wes appointed, with my L. of Newbottill, Meſter David Magill and

Meister Jhon Schairp, to hald the justice aires of West Lowdrien in Edenbrough; wher ther cam to my bedfild tymely in a morning a gentilman, alleging that I had done him plefour sometymes, quhilk he culd never recompense till that tym, that he suld mak me the instrument to saif the Kingis Maieste my maister, out of ther handis that wer vpon ane enterpryse to tak him and kepe him. I said, I culd not beleue that; bot fearit that the Duc of Lenox, wha wes to pass till Glasco to hald justice aires, suld be in danger for the hattrent born against him, specially for menteanyng of the twa bischoppis of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes and Glasco. He said again, "They will lay handis vpon the Kingis Maieste, and then the Duc and the Erle of Arran dar na mair be seane; for ther insolency and misbehauour is cause of the present disorder, and enterpryse to present ane supplication against them vnto his Maieste." And efter that he had tald me the names of the noble men, he willit me not to declair his name, bot the matter, to his Maieste, and that the turn wald be done within ten dayes. Now as I start vp to put on my clais, he slippit fourth with a schort fairweill.

Because the Duc wes at Dakeith, I raid ther and schew him the haill matter; aduyfing him to ryd him self vnto his Maieste with this aduertissement, and for his awin secrete. Bot he thocht meteft to direct ane gentilman with all possible deligence vnto his Maieste, willing me also to wret vnto the Erle of Gowrie; for the gentilman named him not with the rest, other of forgetfulness, or elis because he wes bot laitly won to that purpos be the Lard of Dromwhaffell; wha assured him that the Duc of Lenox wes determinit to sleie him at the first meating, perswading the said erle to jun with the rest of the noblemen, that wer determinit to reform the estate. Vnto the quhilk invented aduertif-

ment ouer ferceely he gaue credit, and sa wes junit with the rest of the noblemen ; that wer myndit to present this supplication folowing vnto his Maieste, at his commyng to Domfermeling.

“ It may seem strange vnto your hynes, that we your maist humble and faithfull subiectis are heir conuenit, by your expectation ; bot efter your grace has hard the vrgent occasion that hes preffit vs heirunto, your Maieste will not meruell of this our honest, lauffull, and necessaire enterpryse.

“ Sir, for the dewtifull reuerence that we aw vnto your hyenes, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may seem displefant to your excellency, we haue sufferit now about the spaice of tua yeares, sic false accusations, calumnies, oppreSSIONS and persecutions, be moyen of the Duc of Lenox, and him wha is callit Erle of Arran, that the lyk of ther insolency and enormities was never heirtofore borne with in  
P. 147. Scotland. Quhilk wrangis, albeit they wer maist intollerable, yet wher they only tuechit ws in particulaire, we comported them patiently ; euer attending when it suld please your Maieste put remedy heirvnto.

“ Bot seing the persones foirfaidis hes enterit planly to trouble the haill body of this commownweill, alweill the ministers of the blifft euangill, as the trew professours therof ; bot in speciall that number of noblemen, barrons, burgeßes and commonaltie, that did maist worthilie in your hyenes seruice induring your youth ; quhome principally and only they molest, and against whom they use maist extremitie and rygour of laues and prattickis, and oft tymes maist sinisterly perverting the samyn for the greter vendication. Sa that ane part of theise your best subiectis ar exylit ; ane vther part tormented and put to

questions, and with parcialite execut ; and gif any eschaip ther barbarous fury, ȝit can haue na acces to your Maiestie, bot ar fallty calumniat, inuasit, and debarrit from your grace prefence, and halden out of your fauour.

“ Papistis and maist notable mourtherers daily callit hame, restored to ther formair honours and heritages, and oft tymes hyechly rewardit with the offices, rowmes and possessions of your maist faithfull saruandis. “ Fynally, your estait royall is not gournit be the counsaill of your grace nobilite, as your maist worthy progenitouris vsed to do ; bot at the plesour of the foirsaidis personnes, wha enterpryses nathing bot as they receaue directions from the bischoppis of Glasco and Rossie, your denuncit rebelles, having with them adjunct in ther ordinary consellis the Paipis nuncio, with the ambassadour of Spaine, and sic vther of the catholik papistis of France, as they euer labour to subuert the trew religion, and to spoilege your grace of the crown. With theise forsalted personnes, and with your mother, by the aduysse of your estaitis, they trauellit to cause yow negociat and traffic ; persuading your hyenes to be reconciliat with hir, and to associat hir with yow conjunctly in your autoritie royall ; meanyng nathing vther therby bot to convict vs of vsurpation and trefoun.

“ And sua having these your best subiectis out of the way, wha with the deffence of your minorite maintenit the part of the trew religion, as tua actions vnited and vnseperable, what elis culd haue enfewed and folowed bot the wrak and distruction of baith.

“ For conclusion of ther pratickis, your haill natywe contre, for the quhilk, Sir, ye mon geue ane accompt to the eternell God, lyk as we

mon be anſwerable to your excellency, is ſa perturbit, alterit and put out of fram, that the trew religion, the commoun weall, your eſtait and perſonne, is in na les danger, then when ye wer delyuerit out of the handis of the crewell murtherers of your father. What they ar, we will not inſiſt at this preſent.

“ Sir, beholding theſe gret dangers to be eminent and at hand, without ſpeidy help, and ſeing your maiſt noble perſone in ſic hazard, the preſeruatiſon wherof is mair precious vnto us then our awen lyues; finding alſo na apperance that your Maieſte wes foirwairnit heiroy, bot lyk to periſch before ye culd perſaue the parell; we thoct that we culd not be anſwerable to our eternell God, nether faithfull ſubiectis to your hyenes, gif efter our abilite we preuenit not this preſent diſtreſs, and preferuit your Maieſte from the ſamyn.

“ For this effect, with dewtifull humilite and obedience, we your Maieſteis trew ſubiectis ar heir convenit, deſyrand your Maieſte, in the name of God, and for the loue ye bear to his trew religion, to your contre and commoun weill, and as ye wald the tranquillite of your awen eſtait, to reiteir your ſelf to ſome part of the contre wher your Maieſteis perſone may be maiſt ſurely preferuit, and your nobilite, wha ar vnder parell of landis, lyf and heritages; and wher your Maieſte ſall ſe the diſloyalties, falſetis and treſons of the perſones foirſaidis with ther complices, euidently prouen and declaired in ther faces, to the glory of God, aduancement of his trew religion, your Maieſteis preſeruatiſon, honour and delyuerance of your perturbit commoun weall and contre, and to ther perpetuell ygnominie and ſchame.”



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It is certane that the Duc of Lenox wes led be euell confellours and wrang informations, wherby he wes moued to medle in sic hurtfull and dangerous courses, that the rest of the nobilite tok fuspition, and wer in fear of ther estait be ane hard alteration. As for the Erle of Arran, they detested his proceedingis, and esteamed him the worst and maist insolent instrument that culd be found out, to wrak King, kirk and contre. Bot the Duc had bene tollerable, gif he had happenit vpon as honest confellouris, as he wes weill inclynit him self. He louit baith the King and commown weall; bot he wantit experience, and wes not versit in the affaires of estait, nor brocht vp in our religion, quhilk apperantly he wes lyk till embrace be tym. The Erle of Arran, again, wes a scornor of religion, presomptuous, ambitious, nedy and cairles of the commown weall, and a dispyser of the nobilite and of all honest men; sa that euery man loked for a sodane change, quhilk fuld haue bene maid in Domfermeling, in presenting this abone specified supplication. What moued the lordis to surpryse his Maieste within the house of Huntintour,—some allegit it was to imbark the Erle of Gowry mair deiply in ther band; vthers sayes that the lordis, fearing ther enterpryse to be discouert, maid the greater haist, and stayed his Maieste in that place; quhilk wes efterwart callit the Raid of Ruthven.

Efter that the Duc of Lenox wes aduertist of this enterpryse, he send for the Erle of Arran, wha wes peiceably passing his tym in Kinneill; and tok in hand to ryd and saif the K., and boisted that he fuld chaife all the lordis in moue hollis. Bot he wes chassit, and saiffed him self within the house of Ruthven, wher they had schortly maid ane end of him, wer not the Erle of Gowry, whais desteny wes to keip him alyue to be his wrak efterwart. Then the Duc of Lenox being aduertist that

his Maieſte wes in handis, reterit him ſelf to Dombarton. His Maieſte wes convoyed to Stirling, and retenit ther.

The King of France and the Quen of England, being inſourmed that the King wes tane and kept, ſend baith ther ambaffadours in this contré, to confort his Maieſte, to ſe the maner, and to offer him ther help incaice he wald requyre the ſame, and declaire that he wes tane and kept againſt his will. Bot his Maieſte, efter gret thankis geuen vnto the ſaidis ambaffadouris, willit them to declair vnto ther princes, how that he wes very weill content of the lordis that wer about him, and that they wer all his awen ſubiectis willing till obey him ; bot that they had conceaued ſome hard apprehenſions of the Duc of Lenox, and ſome vthers that had bene about him of before. Albeit, his hart wes full of ſorow and diſpleſour, as he tald me him ſelf efterwart ; and euen then lykways to Meſter Cairo, cuſing to the Quen of England, wha roundit in his Maieſteis ear requesting him to tell the plan verite, quhilk he ſuld kepe ſecret from Meſter Bowes his marrow, and alſo from the lordis, but only ſuld ſchaw his inwart mynd priuely to the Quen his meſtres. Albeit, it nether apperit be the ſucces to haue bene kept ſecret, nor yet maid that Quen any farther inſtance for his libertie.

The lordis in the mean tym thocht meit to hald ane counſaill, and raiſonit vpon ther beſt, and reſoluit that ther enterpryſe wes gud ſeruiſe to his Maieſte, the kirk and commoun weall ; quhilk his Maieſte granted alſo to be trew. Wherupon ane act of counſaill wes fourmed and tane. And at that ſame time, the generall aſſemble of the kirk wes haldin at Edenbrough, to the quhilk his Maieſte wes moued to ſend tua commiſſioners, to teſtifie that his Maieſte had allowed for gud ſeruiſe the ſaidis lordis enterpryſe ; willing the kirk lykways to find it

P. 149. gud for ther partis, and ordour the commiffioners and minifters of ilk fchyre to publiſh the fame to ther paroiſchoners, and to get the principall gentilmens ſubſcriptions to mentean the fame. Neuertheles his Maieſte tok the matter farther till hart then any man wald haue beleuit, and lamentit his miſhandling to findre noblemen and vthers ; and at lenth maid ſome of them preuy that he intendit to releaue him ſelf with tym out of ther handis that held him as captyue, and deſyred dyuers of them that he lippenit in, to aſſiſt him with ther conſaill and help.

The lordis again that wer junit together for the reformation of the eſtait, being quyt of the Duc of Lenox, wha wes paſt throw England to France, wher he died ſchortly efter of a ſeaknes contracted for diſpleaſour, and of the Erle of Arran, whom they kepit captyue, in the cuſtody of the Erle of Gowry,—they reterit them ſelues from the court to ther houſes, that his Maieſte ſuld not think him ſelf in any wayis kept be them ; for they had gottin ſome inteligence of his Maieſteis inwart greif for his taking and retenyng. Wherupon his Maieſte tok occaſion to appoint ane convention to be halden in Santandrowes, for ſome Engliſh affaires, efter the retournyng of the crownell Stuart and Meſter Jhon Coluill, wha baith had bene ſend ther, and had not agreed weill concernyng ther commiſſion, and brocht bak again dyuers anſwers. To the quhilk convention his Maieſte directyd miſſyues to ſome of the nobilite, bot to nane of the lordis that had laitly left him ; ſupponyng that they wald not com vnwreten for, and that way to ſlip him ſelf out of ther handis, and hald about him ſic lordis as he had wreten for ; to wit, the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Montroiſe, Craffort, Rothes, and the Erle of Marche, wha wes ane indueller in St Androwes for the

tym, and the Erle of Gowry, of whom he thocht him self assured of, bot for some respectis wald not employ him till efterwart, left the rest of his associatis mycht allege that he had left them vnhonestly. For the said erle had repented him fair, that he had sufferit him self to haue bene drawen be Dromwhassell to jun with the rest, efter he had sure infourmation how that the Duc of Lenox wes not layed for his schlachter, as wes allegit. Therfor he repented his foly, and offerit at all occasions to his Maieste to help to set him to his liberte.

Sa his Maieste thinking him self assured of all thir noblemen, the day apponted for the convention draweing neir, it pleasit him to send the crownell Stuart to my house, schawing that his Maieste having ane of the gretest turnis ado that euer he had, directed him vnto me as vnto ane of his maist faithfull seruandis, and of whom he had gud proif be the trew warnyng that I had maid him before the alteration; as a sworn gentilman of his chamber, that I wald now help him to his liberte, quhilk he wes determinit to get at his being in Santandrowes, wher he wes till pass schortly to ane convention; and desyred my assistance and aduise, and whais counsaill his Maieste wes myndit to follow so lang as he lyued; willing me be resolut not to refuse any seruice that his Maieste will propone to me at meting, and efter I had resolut to be at his Maieste in Facland, with all possible diligence. This commission wes to me very vnplaisant, for I had tane my leawe from the court, as being tyred and wried with the many alterations that I had seane, baith at hame and in vther contrees, and had gottin gret trouble and damage be them for vther mens cause; therfore wes determinit and inclynit to lead a quyet contemplatyve lyf the rest of my dayes; quhilk this purpos of my prince and maister wes lyk to put

me fra. In this perplexitie, I had recourſe be humble prayer vnto God, ſa to direct my doings as that they mycht tend to his glory, and to the weall of my prince and contre ; and then according to my deutifull obedience, paſt vnto his Maieſte.

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When I cam to his Maieſte in Facland, he tald me of his intention and deliberation ; lamenting his hard eſtait and miſhandling be his awen ſubiectis, and what diſpleafour he had tane ; and how that he wes thoct bot a beaſt, be other princes nybours, for ſuffring ſa many indignities ; with ſic vther ſpeeches as the crownell had declaired amply to me in his hynes name. I again diſcourſit vnto his Maieſte, the commown eſtait of all contrees during ther princes minorite, ſtryuing for ſtait and for the cheif handling, wherby to aduance them ſelues and ther frendis ; as did the houſe of Guiſe, during the yong age of K. Francis 2. ; the Prince of Conde, during the ring of K. Charles the ix. of France, and the King of Navar ; lykwaſ the Duckis of Somerſyð and Northumberland, during the youth of K. Edwart the vj. in England ; and asweill in the Quen his mothers tym as now in his awen tym : ſome till aduance ther awen affaires, ſome to deffend and meantean ther awen eſtait and furete, enterpryſes and ſtryffes ; nane of the parties bearing any euell will to his Maieſte, euery ane being in loue with him, and wald be nereſt vnto his perſone, albeit ſome of them be oftymes tranſported, other be ambition gredines or vengeance, till ouerſhut them ſelues and forget ther dewty. Princes again that ar wyſe, when they com to parfyt age, haue euer found it ther beſt to pardone and ouerſee all ſic faltis as ar don at ſic hard tymes, be oure gret nonber of ſubiectis. As when K. Charles 9. agreed with the Prince of Conde, all his formair offences wer reckonit for gud ſeruiſe ; “ and as

your Maieſte has done, in agreeing with ſamany of your nobilitie as wer in fear, that the Duc of Lenox and the Erle of Arran wald hurt baith them and the eſtait of the contre, as they allegit.

“ Now, ſir, gif your Maieſte ſall ſlip fra them, they will think ther eſtaitis in greter danger, not be your ſelf, bot be ſome of ther vnfrendis that may fall in again about yow ; and albeit they be preſently abſent, they haue baith a gard and ſome of ther frendis preſently about your Maieſte ; and then they will not fail to kepe the convention, and be aſchone at Santandroues as the other lordis to whom your Maieſte hes ſend your wretingis ; for it ſtandis them upon ther lyues, ther landis and honnour, to be ſtill maiſters beſyd your Maieſte. Therfor ſaving your Maieſteis awen contentement of mynd, ye ar now in a better and ſurer eſtait nor ye wilbe, abandonyng them, incaice ye get it not weall done and brocht till paſs ; wherin ther wilbe found greter difficulte then apperantly is als deaply confidderit as the cauſe requyres.”

All thir diſſuaſions had na force to ſtay his Maieſte from his formair deliberation ; as having ſufferit ſome diſpleaſour, tok vp a princely courage eyther to put him ſelf to fre liberte or to dy be the way. Bot for to folow the exemples of vther wyſe princes, as he had begun him ſelf to allow for gud ſeruice the enterpryſe callit the Raid of Ruthven, ſa that being anes at fre liberte, he ſuld mak a generall law of obliuion, for all bygain faultis and errours committed be his nobilitie and ſubiectis during his minorite ; and fra that tym fourth to be as a father to the contre, and ane equall prince to all his ſubiectis ; na mans bluid, na mans land, geir nor office to be tane fra them, and to ſatiſſie the kirk ; to agre parties to ſatle the eſtait, and to be ſeruit with the diſcreteſt perſonnes that ſuld be ſocht and found out in all the contre.



P. 151. His Maieſte promyſed alſo to be ſecret, conſtant, and conſellable ; for the firſt, it wes thoct expedient that his Maieſte ſuld be in Santandrowes ſome few dayes before the convention ; that being fre ther, ane proclamation mycht be maid to forbid any nobleman or vther to com to the convention without ane expreſs wreting. For that effect, it wes deuſed that the Erle of Marche ſuld requyre his Maieſte to be in St Androues, tua or thre dayes before the ſaid convention, be raiſoun of his preparation of wyeld meat and vther freſche fleſches, that wald ſpill incaice his Maieſte cam not to mak gud cheir with him ſome dayes before. Whervpon his Maieſte paſt fordwart, contraire to the oppinion of ſome that wer about him, wha durſt not tak the baldnes to ſtay him ; bot part of them ſpak and ſaid, that it was not meit that his Maieſte ſuld ryd, before that the lordis wha wer abſent mycht be aduertift. Nevertheles his Maieſte paſt fordwart, and had apponted the Erle of Marche, the proueſt of Santandrowes, with ſome vther barrons to meit him at Darze. At quhilk meting his Maieſte thoct him ſelf at liberte, with gret joy and exclamation, lyk a burd flowen out of a kaige, paſſing his tym in hacking be the way, efter the ſaid meting, thinking him ſelf then ſur enough. Albeit I thoct his eſtait far ſurer when he was in Facland ; for he was logit in the auld Ins, a part very open, the yard dykes being his greteſt ſtrength ; and ſew of his lordis. that he had wreten for the ſecond tym, to be at Santandrowes aſſchone as he, wer not yet com, except only the Erle of Crafford, wha was neir hand for the tym in Contefs-karney.

In the mean tym, I parſauit the ſoly, and paſt to the proueſt of the town to knaw what forces he had within the town at his deuotion. He ſaid, very ſew, and that the commonte wer not to be lippenit vnto.



Then I askit, wha wes in the castell. He said, the bischop; wha was delt with incontinent, to haue the castell in a redines to reslaue his Maieste; quhilk he promysed to do. Bot when I returnit to his Maieste, and beleued that the proclamation had bene maid, na man to com to the convention bot samany as wer wreten for, I fand that the abbot of Domfermeling was arriuit out of Lochleuen, and the Erle Marchall out of Dundee. The Erle of Mar wes still with his Maieste, bot all the lordis wer aduertist with deligence from Faeland, how that his Maieste wes riden sa sodanly to Santandrowes; willing them to mak haist to be ther, or else they wald com ouer lait. The said abbot for his part wes schone anough ther, and behaued him self sa extolling his Maiesteis enterpryse, that he retenit sufficient credit to cast down all ther deuyces that wer vpon the Kingis course; for he wes a speciall doer vpon the contrair fynd, and said that it wes not meit be proclamation to stay the nobilite, bot rather to wret misfaynes to them, not to come accompanied with ma than ten personnes with euery nobleman.

When his Maieste tald me this, I wes very angry, and schew how that it wes the hye way to put him again, be craft and without thankis, in ther handis whom he had laitly left; and that without purpos, proceeding sa cairlesly as to folow ther awen counsaill aganist them selues; assuring his Maieste that they wer comyng fordwart very stark and in armes, and wer lyk to be schoner ther then the lordis that he had wreten for; and mycht com in quyetly them selues, and cause ther companies com in twais and thres to the town; wheras it had bene better to let them com altogether, that ther haill forces mycht be fean.

P. 152. And yet his Maieste wes laith to enter within the castell that same nycht, for his greter secrete, vntill it wes very lait after supper; geuyng

them that wer ther alre dy, leafer till aduyfe them, and till enterpryse that same nycht to tak him again, incaice he had past to the Abbey gard to walk, as they had perswadit him, vntill the castell wer prepared. And some wer alre dy entrit within the said gard in armour for that effect; wherof some suspition wes tane, and therefore his Maieste being aduertised, chengit purpos in passing by the gard get to the castell.

The nyxt day, the haill lordis afweill fend for as on fend for, arrayued at Santandrowes. The Kingis lordis quyet without armour, the other lordis very stark in armour. The Erle Marchall, the Erle of Mar and the abbot of Domfermeling, logit within the castell with his Maieste; wher the wyly abbot gaif the King counsaill, to let nane of the lordis com within the castell, accompanied with ma than xij persones; he feamyng euer to be vpon the Kingis oppinion. This crafty counsaill being folowed, the nyxt mornyng the castell was full of men for them of the contrair party, weall armed, and wha had tane the stair headis and galleries alre dy, mynding again to be maisters of K. and all the rest. Quhilk being ouer lait foirfean, diligence wes vsed to bring within the castell incontinent all the Erle of Marches gentilmen, with the yong lard of Darze, the lardis of Balcomy, Segy, Forret, Barnis, the gudman of Fengis, and samany of the town as wer at the prouestis deuotion; quhilk remedied that enterpryse for that nycht. The Erle of Gowry was also a gret stay in that matter. Albeit he cam ther also stark and also angry as any of the lordis, yet he wes aduertist of the Kingis gud will towardis him, and wes won and drawen fra the rest. So that dangerous day being ouerpast without any harm done, the nyxt day sic gud ordour was tane, that his Maieste was maister of the castell; and folowed na mair the said abbotis counsaill, bot declaired his

moderat mynd to all the lordis, and to the Fyf barrons, and townis of the coist fyd, wha had bene sent for ; and lykwayes to the minifters and maifters of the college.—“ That albeit he had bene detenit a whyll againft his pleefour, yet his intent wes not to imput it as a crym, nor na vther thing done in his minorite ; bot wald put in obliuion all byganes, fatiffie the kirk, agre parties, and be equall to all his fubiectis ; knawing nane of them to bear him any euell will, and that they wer dryuen to do any thing that they had enterpryfed, be the force of ther awen fafcious partialites ;”—with many vther wordis of his clemency and difcretion, to all ther contentementis. And thereafter he ordonit four lordis, tua of euery faction, to reteir them for a whyll, to wit the Erles of Angus and [Mar] Bodowell, and the Erles of Huntly and Crafford ; reteanyng all the reft about him as indifferent, for his ordinary confaill, by whais aduyfe to fättill his eftait, and thereafter to bring again to court the haill lordis abone named. Then his Maiefte callit for me before a number of the faidis lordis, and gaif me greter commendation and thankis than I had merited, as the only instrument vnder God of his libertie. His Maiefte caufed alfo mak a proclamation, conform to his formair fpeeches and moderat intention. Bot I tok na pleafour to be prayfed, in the prefence of fa many ; anfwering to his Maiefte, that I had the ill will alredy of famany as wer vpon the purpos of his detenti on

P. 153. Now matters being fättelle as apperit, and lyk to tak gud fucces, fome of the Kingis lordis that had bene flaw in commyng, and when they wer com, finding the lordis of the contrary faction at Santandrowes stark and in armour, had denyed that they knew any thing of his Maieftis enterpryfe, bot layed the haill bourden vpon the crownell

Stuart and me. Now again when they saw apperance of a prosperous success, they took the matter stoutly upon them, and began in plain confaill to tell, how lang they had bene upon the confaill of that enterpryse with his Maiestie, and wer lang attending upon his aduertissement.

Of a treuth his Maiestie wes of a mercifull mynd, and gently inclynit towardis all the nobilite, intending to won all ther hartis be his awen discret behauour. And to that effect he past first to the house of Ruthven, to lat the contre see that he was entierly reconcyлит with the Erle of Gowry; wha efter he had maid his Maiestie a gret banket, sat down upon his knees, lamenting that his Maiestie fuld haue bene retenit in that unhappy house at his last being ther; quhilk he said chancit rather be accident then deliberation, only for the salfete of the Erle of Arrans lyf. Alleging that he knew na vther thing bot, at his Maiesteis being in Domfermeling, they wer all myndit to present vnto him ane humble supplication, abone specified; asking pardon for that accidentall falt. quhilk his Maiestie graciously promysed never till imput vnto him, knowing how blindlingis he wes brocht upon it, be the practyses of vthers.

In this mean tyme, James Stuart Erle of Arran, had obteanit sa mekle fauour as to be wardit in Kynneill, his awen house for the tyme, send and congratulat his Maiesteis liberte, desyring that he mycht haue access to com and kis his Maiesteis hand; quhilk wes planly refused. Then he send daily his oppinion and aduise unto his Maiestie, how till proceed against dyuers of the nobilite and vthers; thinking also meit to send and bring again vnto the court the Erles of Huntly and Craffort; quhilk wes ouer easely granted vnto, be the Erles of Argyll and Montrose: only the Erle of Gowry resisted, alleging that the Erles of

Bodowell [Mar] and Angus wer put in hope to be also brocht in again, afweill and affchone as they. Bot equalite that was looked for was forȝet ; moving the Erles Marchall and vthers to draw them hame to ther houfes. The abbot of Domfermeling remanit ftill at court ; and to won fauour of the crownell Stuart, then capten of the gard, he gaif him a purfe and xxx pieces of gold at four pond the pice ; quhilk pieces the crownell diftributit to famany of the gard, wha borit them, and fet them lyk targetis vpon ther knappikais, and the purfe wes born vpon a fpair point lyk an enfeingȝe. The abbot fchortly efter wes wardit in Lochleuen ; Meſter Jhon Coluill, the lard of Cleifch and Dromwhaffell wer also wardit, be the aduyce of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, wha foliſted continoually his Maieſte that they mycht com to the court ; and at lenth I wes requested be his agent James Stuart, now Sir James of \_\_\_\_\_, to be ane inſtrument to deall with his Maieſte to permit the ſaid erle to com again to the court ; for he ſaid that his Maieſte was fauourable anough, and that the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Craffort, and Montroiſe had not only geuen ther conſent, bot that the Erles of Argyll and Montroiſe had ſaid vnto his Maieſte, that they ſuld ryd them ſelues and fetch him ; only the Erle of Gowry refiſted ; and that the K. had ſchawen him that he wald do nathing therin without my conſent and aduyſe. I ſaid again, that his Maieſte nedit not to ſeak my conſent, gif him ſelf and ſamany noblemen wer content. He replied again, that his Maieſte repofed vpon me at that tym, mair nor vpon all his conſaill, as his Maieſte had ſchawen him, and that he wald not bring him in by my conſent.

P. 154. Wherupon I paſt vnto his Maieſte, and ſchew him what langage James Stuart, ſeruant to the Erle of Arran, had halden to me, anent his maiſters commyng to court ; and how that his Maieſte,

layed ouer gret a bourthen vpon me, as to fay that he wald do na-thing by my consent. Then his Maieſte tok me to the gallerie of Fac-land, and lamented, as he had bene inſourmed, the loſs of many of his beſt frendis ; as the Erles of Lenox, Atholl, Duc of Lenox ; “ and now,” ſaid he, “ the Erle of Arran, wha hazard his lyf to com and re-leaue me, they will not geue him leaue to com and ſe me.” Therefore his Maieſte deſyred me to tell him, what mycht be ther occaſion to hat him as they did. My anſuer wes, that to hyd the verite parellit his Maieſte, and the telling of the treuth parellit myſelf. His Maieſte wald nedis wit my meanyng therin. I ſaid, becauſe he is ane of the worlt inſtrumentis that culd cum about his Maieſte ; wherof he had ouer hard a proif, being all the lait enterpryſe, only maid for his miſ-behauour ; and gene euer he gat place again, the lyk or war ſall follow therupon ; “ and my parell for telling your Maieſte the verite is, that he wilbe my deadly ennemy, incaice it be ſchawen vnto him again.” Then his Maieſte deſyred to let him com and kiſs his hand, and that he ſuld tary na langer ; willing me to deall with my L. of Gowry, that he wald alſo grant that he mycht com bot anes to the court, and ſuld retourn incontinent to his houſe without any tary. I ſaid, I ſuld cauſe him yeld to his Maieſteis pleaſour.

In the mean tym, I tok occaſion to declair vnto his Maieſte, how that many princes ar wraked be ther ambitious counſellours, that will reull all ther allane, taking vpon them a greter bourthen then they may bear ; for remedy wherof, his Maieſte ſuld ſpend euery day bot ane hour, to hear a choſen number of honeſt counſellouris raiſoun vpon his affaires ; then him ſelf to ſet fordwart his oppinion, that he can weall enough iuge and vnderſtand to be the beſt and meteſt to be



folowed fourth, as the K. of France vsed to do. Quhilk his Maieste granted very willingly, and sa lang as he keped that ordour, by the ordinary confaill dayes, his turnis went richtly fordwart. Of thir number wer the haill lordis that had affistid his Maieste, Sir Robert my brother, the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and my self.

Bot sa schone as the Erle of Arran gat prefens of his Maieste, he not only stayed at court, aganeft promyse, bot also alterit within a schort tym all this kynd of preuy conference, to do all his allain. Albeit, at his first entre he vsed him self humbly. Efter he had kiffit his Maiesteis hand, he embracit me and kiffit my cheik ; geving me many thankis in his Maiesteis prefence ; alleging that all the name of the Stuartis wer obligit to me, for the notable seruice he allegit I had done vnto his Maieste. And as for him, he said he suld neuer tak any thing in hand, bot be directed be my brother and me and the lard of Segy. Bot the crownell and he spak not togither, vntill his Maieste willit me to agre them ; quhilk I did at lenth. At the first the crownell fivoir a gret aith, that gif his Maieste sufferit that villain to remain in court, that he wald yet again vndo all. For a whyll he held him quyet, bot na apperance of his hame ganging.

P. 155. Sontymes he wald reprove my gentill kynd of proceading in his Maiesteis effaires, and culd not abyd to se them handled be a number ; and pat in his Maiesteis head, that he wald find it a feschious busynes to be encombrit with many contrary oppinions ; bot willit him to tak his paltym at hunting, and he suld tary in and heir us, and report again at his Maiesteis retournyng, all our oppinions and conclufions. This he obserued tua or thre tymes ; and in schort spaice chengit that ordour, and tok na mans aduysé bot his awen ; yet said vnto his Maieste, that



he had all our counsaill and consent to cause his Maieste folow a violent course, directly against his Maiestes first deliberation, intention and proclamation of clemency and forgetfulness of all thingis that fell out in his Maiestes minorite: and caused make contrary proclamations against them of the raid of Ruthven, ordonyng them all to take remissions, for that quhilk of before was allowed for good service; moving dyvers noblemen and others to draw them far from the court for fear, till some places of securite. And when he caused read before the counsaill his new invented proclamation, I opponit my self to it, saying that it was directly against his Maiestes mynd and promise. He lap out of the counsell house in ane rage, and said I wald wrak the King be my maner of doing. I said again, "Other ye or I;" with some schairp pricking language, so that it was stayed for that tyme; till efterwart he awaited a meet occasion to get it past, be a flattering faction that assisted him, tournyng all vpsyd down, putting a great number of noblemen and others in fear of their estate. And when any of us that were deuot to his Maiestes prosperous and quiet estate, wald schaw the dangerous and vnpartinent proceedings of the said erle, his Maieste wald be very fery, and said he maid him beleue that he did nothing but be common consent of the counsaill; and when his Maieste vnderstod the contrary, was very earnest and willing to amend the disorder; but was still circonuenit be the said erle, and sic as for fear, flattery, or profit set forward all his pretences, casting for na parell.

About this tyme ther came ane schairp wretting from the Quene of England vnto his Maieste; wha thocht the noblemen that were put at, and were absent from court, metest instrumentis to be about his Maieste, for the enterterment of the amytie betuen ther Maiestes and countrees,

and wes not content to fe them ſa hardly handled. The cōpye of the ſaid lettre I haue inferrit heir in vnder, wreten with hir Maieſteis awen hand.

“ Amongeft your many ſtudies, my dear brother and cuſing, I wald ſtocrates noble leſſoun wer not forgottin, that willis themperour his ſouerain to mak his wordis of more accompt then other men ther aithes, as meiteiſt enſeignies to ſchaw the treweſt bagie of a prince armes.

“ It moueth me muche to mon you, when I behald how diuerſely ſindre wickit ſpritis diſtract your mynd, and bendis your courſe to cruckit paithes, and lyk all euell illuſions, wrappit vnder the cloik of your beſt good. How can it be, that you can ſuppoſe ane honnorable anſwer may be maid vnto me, when all your doingis gainſay your formair woves. You deall not with one whais experience can tak droſis for gud payement, nor one that eaſely wilbe begyllit. No, no. I mynd to ſet to ſcuell your craftyeſt confellours.

“ I am ſory to ſe you bent to wrong your ſelf, in thinking to wrong vthers ; yea thoſe, who gif they had euen then taken opportunitie to let a ruyne that wes newly begun, that plat wald haue parellit you more than a thowſand of ſuch mens lyues be worth, that perſwad you to awow ſuch dedes, to deſyre a ſalties pardone. Why do you forget what you wret to my ſelf with your awen hand, ſchawing how dangerous a courſe the Duc wes entrit in ; thoeh you excuſed him ſelf, to think no euell therin ; and yet they that wer your ſaiſſetie, conſerued you from it, you moſt now ſeam to geue them reproche of giltie folkis. I hope you moir eſteem your honour, then to geue it ſuch a ſtayne ;

fence you haue protested so often to haue taken these lordis for your moift effectiōnit subiectis, and to haue done all for your best. To conclud, I beseech you pass no farther in this course, till you receaue express messenger, a trusty faruand of myn, be whom I mean to deall lyk ane effectiōnit sister with you; as of whom you shall see plainly you may receaue honnour and contentement, with more suretie to your self and stait then all thoise discembling consellers will, or can bring vnto you; as knawes the Lord, to whoise moift saif keeping I do commit you, with my many commendations to your persone.

“ Your maiest assured and faithfulest sister and cousin,

“ ELIZABETH.”

Vnto this lettre, his Maieste commandit me to minut ane answer in his hyenes name, that he mycht wret it ouer again with his awen hand, famekle of it as he shuld find meit; for the abbot of Domfermling, secretary for the tyme, was in suspition to haue bene vpon the contrary course.

#### THE COPIE OF THE ANSWER.

“ Madame, for congratulation of my libertie, I haue receaued a lang lettre of yours, accomodit at the entre with that sentence of Yfocrates, which willeth princes wordis to be more entierly obserued than other mens aithes; as thoch seneſter report were maid vnto you, of some forgetfulness in me; or that ye fear, in tymes commyng, that I faill in keeping of sic promyses vnto my frendis, as may be maid vpon iust and convenient occasions.

" For answer vnto that head, I remember asweill that saying of Yfocrates, as I do another, wher he wald not haue them halden for frendis, that allow or prayfe whatfoeuer we say or do, bot rather sic as modestly reprove our faltis. So that I tak your schairp admonition at this tym, as proceeding of a sifterly loue, albeit vpon wrang information ; hopping that sa schone as ye fall trewly vnderstand of my hard handling and patient behauour, ye salbe sa weill satisfied, as to discerne me to haue done nathing bot that which ye wald haue done your self in the lyk estait.

" First when I wes detenit captywe with a faire coulour, it pleseth you to send your ambassadours, lyk as did the K. of France, frendly to visit me, offering me gret kyndnes and help, incaice I nedit any for the tym ; wherof I render you yet hartly thankis, alleging that I was weall content, and had gud frendis about me, quhilk wes very trew. For ane part of the same lordis that wer then about me, persauyng my greif and miscontentement, offerit euen then to releaue me, whensoever I wald desyre to be at greter liberte. Wherupon I maid you then that answer, quhilk ye mak mention of in your lettre, as I maid the lyk  
 P. 157. answer vnto the Frenche ambassadour. Neuertheles I was euer myndit at a meit tym to releawe my self, for my honnour, as I haue done presently ; folowing another saying of Yfocrates, willing princes to hazard rather to die honestly, than to rengne schamfully. How I did regne for the tym, ye mycht knaw be your cusing Mester Cairo ; in whoise ear I roundit familiarly my inwart greif, because he said ye willit him to requyre it at me a part, promysen that it suld be secretly kepit from all vthers. Albeit, I vsed not sic planes with Mester Bowes. Ineid I subscryuit sic wretis and lettres as the saidis lordis presented them vnto

me ; for the tyme wes vnmeit to disput ouer precisely vpon circumstanes, that wer fitted and determinit be them that wer maisters of me and of the estait.

“ This answer, I suppoise, shall satisfie your awen raifonable and equitable iugement, discretly discourfing the same with your self a part. I dout gene it will be sa interpret be vthers of your counsaill, that haue any particulair courfes of ther awen ; to whom becaufe I imput the haill hard langage contenit in your angry lettre, and not vnto your self and gentill inclination, I think it not neidfull now to wret answer vnto every point of the same. Sa attending patiently vpon your better intelligence and information in thir matters, I will rather hald in memory your formair frutfull frendfchip, then now to start at any wrang set sillabe, or four sentence, plaicit in your paiper at the partiall instance of vthers.

“ As concernyng that which tuechis the Duc of Lenox, his godly end has declared his honest meanyng ; whais death I mycht justly lay vpon such as forceably remoued him from my prefens. Neuertheles I purpos to put all bygains in obliuion, and to compel na man to tak a faultles pardon.

“ Wher ye desyre that I proceed na farther, vntill a trusty messenger may com from you ; I intend to stay from doing any thing till then, that may justly offend you ; albeit Yfocrates aduyfes princes spedely to execut sic turnis as gud counsaill thinkis necessary to be done ; wifling that he wha salbe sent, may be aswilling to work the effectis of trew loue and frendfchip betwen ws, as I am assured it is baith our awen hartis desyre and intentione. Wherunto I prey the Lord to grant increase, continowance and happy successe, to his glory, weall and quyetnes of ws, and baith our realmes.”

The secretery Wallingame was he of whom mention is maid in hir Maiesteis lettre, to be sent in heir ; bot he wes lang be the way, be raifoun that he wes sickly. In the mean tyme, Mr Bowes wha wes ambassadour resident in Edenbrough, had refaut this lettre be the ordinary poist, and sent abak the answer. He declaired many commendations from my L. Burly and many of ther confaill, to my brother and me ; alleging that they wer glaid that sic men wer about his Maieste, that wer of ther religion, and with whom they wer lang acquainted ; wiffing many sic to be in court.

About this tyme, the Erle of Arran obteanit the keping of the castell of Stirling, and ingyred him self fa far fordwart, that he tok vpon him the haill handling of the effaires, and caused findre noblemen to be baniffit ; as the Erles of Mar, Angus, mefter of Glamis, and dyuers vthers ; and be his insolency drawe the Erle of Gowry from court, against his Maiesteis intention for the tyme ; wha send me for him to his house, to bring him again to court, quhilk was for the tyme in Couper in Fyf. Wher his Maieste agreed him and the Erle of Arran ; bot nathing wes kepit to Gowry ; for he wes sa vexit and put at, that he tok purpos to leaue the contre.

P. 158. I haue alredy declaired, how laith I was that other his Maieste fuld leaue the lordis that wer about him, or that I fuld in any wyse be a medler again in court, be raifoun of the many dangerous alterations that I had seane, be lang frequentation and hurtfull experience. Yet the gret oppinion I had of his Maiesteis gud inclynation, religion, conscience, and constancy, I thocht of conscience and dewty I culd not refuse his requesting commandement, being my natywe prince and maister, and I his humble subiect and sworn seruant, as his domestik,

first in the office of gentilman of his chamber, and fyn of his confall. Bot efter his hyenes taking to be kept for a whyll, I was na mair admitted be his keepers, wha thocht meit for ther surete, to place about his Maieste men to be hailely for them, and at ther deuotion. As for my awen part, as I wes sorie that his Maieste fuld be vied bot at his awen plesour, sa I was content to be sufferit to lyue quyetyly at hame the rest of my dayes. Now again, persauyng his Maiestes projet, and acceptable proclamations flely and cunningly chengit, by his Maiesteis awen clement intention, in contrary proclamations, and violent persutis and procedingis against them of the Raid of Ruthven, rendring therby ouer gret a number of noblemen and vthers dispaired of ther surete and lyves ; in a lamenting maner I remembrit his Maieste, how he was handlit, and what gret inconvenientis wer lyk till ensue therby. His Maieste was very forowfull, and myndit till amend the disfordour ; bot aduysed alwayes with them that wer the cheif instrumentis therof ; beleuyng that they loued him and the weall of his effaires, because he loued them ; they again making an outward schaw to satisfie his expectation, indirectly be the meanes of ouer many that dependit vpon the Erle of Arrans extraordinair credit and fauour, the contrary of his Maiesteis princely and vprycht meanyng was parfourned, and folowed fourth, that many noblemen left the contre, and honest men left the court, to the gret contentement of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, to gyd all ther allane. And that they mycht the easelyer set fordward ther course, they persuadit his Maieste to pass to Stirling, wher few or nane durst repaire, because the said erle was for the tym capten of the castell of Stirling, and prouest of the town. I was also reterit



from court, efter I had oft warnit his Maieſte of ſic dangerous proceedingis.

His Maieſte being in Stirling, aſkit oftymes for me, and regreted that I wes not continowally befyd him. Wherupon the Erle of Arran deuſyed, that I ſuld be ſend ambaffadour to the Quen of England; aſweill to hald me abſent from his Maieſteis ear, as to tak occaſion at my retournyng to put me in ſome diſgrace; becauſe he was aſſured that I culd do na gud at that tym. And commounly, when mens commiſſions takis na gud effect, they ar callomnyat be ther vnfrendis and envyers, as vnmeit inſtrumentis, vnſkilfull and indiſcret; quhilk calomnies gettis oftymes ouer gret credit, when matters ſucceadis not confourm to the deſyre of the maiſter. Before that his Maieſteis wretting cam to my handis for the ſaid voyage, I had dyted a lang lettre to haue ſend vnto his Maieſte, as a remembrance of his formair promyſes and proclamations; and what inconvenientis wer lyk till enſew, in the ſetting fordwart of a contrary cours; together with ſic ſalutary and ſodain remedy as I culd think meteft for the tym.

P. 159.

The tenour of his Maieſteis lettre vnto me,—That he had ſome matters to communicat vnto me, wherein he intendit to employe baith my adwyſe and panes, and therefore that I ſuld addreſs my ſelf to be at him in Stirling with all convenient expedition, efter the ſicht of the ſaid wretting; wher I ſuld vnderſtand mair amply the occaſion of my ſending for, as I wald do him acceptable pleaſour and gud ſerueice. Wreten from the caſtell of Stirling, the 22 of October 1583.

Efter the recept of this wretting, I raid vnto his Maieſte, and tok with me the lettre quhilk I had pennit of before, as I haue ſaid; wherof the coppie folowes.

“ Sir, As it has pleased your Maieſte heirtofore accept my gud will for agreable ſeruiſe, euen ſa I hope that your Hyenes conſtant fauour ſhall continow towardis me, now and in tymes commyng, neuertheles of my preſent abſens and diſeaſe. For albeit that during your Grace yong aige, I wes ſufferit to lyue happely at hame, from the falſchious handling of public effaires, yet I knew my ſelf obligit to bear my portionable bourthen in your ſeruiſe, ſa ſchone as it wald pleaſe your hyenes command and charge me therwith. Being then maiſt aſſured to walk in ane juſt and lawfull vocation, wherintill to geue continuall testimony of my dewtifull obedience, not preſumyng to geue your Hynes conſaill, haue only tane the baldnes to preſent vnto your Hynes in thir few lynes, my ſemple oppinion of thingis that ar apperantly to fall out vpon your Maieſteis lait proceedingis.

“ For when it pleaſeth your Maieſte, at your firſt paſſing till Santandrowes, to tak vpon your ſelf the fre gouvernement of your effaires, your Hynes gracious intention and propoſition then was not only maiſt agreable to the haill lordis, miniſters and barrons ther preſent for the tym, bot alſo to the reſt of your gud ſubiectis, when as they vnderſtode of your reaſonable pretence. Quhilk being now vtherwayes fallen out and interpret, then wes eyther firſt intendit or determinit, is able to breid commer and diſordour, onles your Maieſte, be wiſdome and dexteritie, preuent the apperant inconvenientis. For it pleaſeth your Maieſte then openly to declare, how that ye only ſocht, with your awen reputation and ſurete, the weall and ſaiſſete of your haill ſubiectis, as maiſt willing to ſatiſſie the kirk, to agree parties, to put out of memorie the name of factions, and in perpetuell obliuion all crymes committed in your Maieſteis minoritie; acknowleging all ſic as

chancit to be done during the fame, bot to haue fallen out betwen fubiect and fubiect, for fic particulair respectis as your Maieſte neuer purpoſed till imput ; bot to renge ouer them all in tymes comming as ane gracious father, and that be aduylſe of the leaſt factious, beſt affected of the nobilite, barrons and vther ſufficient fubiectis ; and na man to be placit nor preferrit about your Maieſte, be fauour of ſurname, kin, frend or allia, bot for ſufficiency, vertu, and loyalte. As alſo, gene any wer to be abſented or ſend hame for a ſeaſoun, it ſuld not be done at the inſtance of any inuious ſutter of his office, or particulair party, bot for your Maieſteis honnour and ſurete, during your pleaſour ; leaving them ſtill in hope, throw gud behauour, till obtean again famylier acces about your Maieſte as of before.

“ Gif this calm cours had bene folowed fourth, there was apperance of ane quyet eſtait. Bot altering and chenging this gentill kind of doing, in ane ſchairp and violent perſut of ſindre, be ſeaking out of ouer many faltis in the perſonnes of ſa many gret and actyue men, it has bred fic miſcontentment, and ſa furious a faction, that gene ſodane remedy be not prouydit, ciuill diſcention and deſpaired enterpryſes acht to be loked for, be all fic as haue ſufficient experience of the nature of Scottis men, and ſeamly intelligence of the deportmentis of dyuers, quhilk the neceſſite of ther vnſure eſtait may weill dryue them haiftely till tak in hand.

F. 160. “ It is true, that the ſtanding of commoun wealis conſiſtis mekle in rewarding of the gud, and puniſſement of the wickit. Na dout bot faltis anew haue bene done during your nouaige ; bot to ſeak them out narrowly, and to puniſch them ſtraitly, in fic caices, and at fic tymes. in maters wher many haue dippit, is not beſt. And yet gif your

Maieſte wer willing, as I know perfytly ye ar not, I can ſe na outgait how to get it done againſt ſa gret a number, having ſa ſmall ſubſtance and forciſ, and ſa mychty and aduantageous nybours, lying ſtill at the wait vpon all ſic contraverſies and occaſions, wherby to ſerue ther awen turn. This alſo acht to be preſently reſpected, that the wonted reuerence borne be the ſubiectis vnto the princely authorite of ther ſoueranis, is mekle decayed in this contre, be raiſoun of the Quenis youth and lang abſens ; and euen ſa in your Maieſteis tym, for ſome of the lyk cauſes ; cheifly becauſe that your Maieſte being yet yong, has bene accompanied this whyll paſt with the yongeſt and meaneſt ſort of your nobilite, wha, albeit they be faithfull and affectionit to ſet fordwart your ſeruiſe, yet the reſt of your ſubiectis alleging them to be factious, yngnorant and nedy, doubtis of ther diſcret behauour, ſeing them pretend to eſtabliſh the eſtait be forces.

“ Hardly may a prince aſſure him ſelf, at all occaſions, to chuſe a ſure courſe wherin ther ſalbe na parell. For commownly men thinking to eſchape out of ane inconvenient, fall oftymes into another. Therfore prudency conſiſtis till vnderſtand the qualites of dangers, and to tak the leaſt euell for the beſt. Some kingdomes and countrees ar gouernit be force, and ſome be fairnes. On the other part, ſubiectis obey eyther for aw or loue. Then the prince is reputed eyther fecles or fearfull, wha can not won the hartis of his ſubiectis be ane of thir twa. For eyther mon the meanis be tane at anes fra men that deſerue to be ſuſpected, wherby they mycht do harm ; or elis to ſatiſfie them in ſic ſort, as with raiſoun they aucht to be ſa content, that they nether neid to deſyre, nor think it convenient for them to ſeak any

changement or alteration. Na man will deny bot that contre is maift happy and ftable, wherintill the fubiectis reioife and ar content, and ferue for loue and not for fear. Sa that it is eafy to juge, quhilk of thir twa kyndis of gouvernementis may be meteft for your Maiefte.

“ The emperor Trajan being demandit, wherfore his fubiectis loued and honored him abone his predeceffours, anfwerit, ‘ becaufe I forgeue thaim that offend me, and neuer forgettis any that has done me gud feruice.’ Jull Pollux, preceptour to Ceafar, paintis out a vray prince to be of a devyn countenance, godly, mercyfull, juft, equitable, cairfull of his effaires, conftant in his dedis, trew in his promyfes, fubiect vnto raifoun, maifter ouer his affections, fecfull and fatherly towardis his fubiectis, of eafy accefs, gentill to be fpoken vnto, redy to forgeue, flaw to punifh, princely, liberall, fubtill, fecret and fcharpe of engyn, &c.

“ Now becaufe it apperis your Maiefte in youth, has bene fufficiently verfit in many of thir verteous preceptis, I wiſ from my hart that ſic impreſſion mycht be afweill tane of them that ar preſently about you ; ſeing that princes ar comownly demed to be lyk vnto them whom they mak ther maift famyliers.

“ Therefore, fir, for efchewing of all thir euelis, and for to put nereft remedy vnto all the apperant inconvenientis, it is meit, ſa ſchone as it  
 P. 161. may pleaſe your Maiefte, paſs till Edenbrough, to conuene the maift ancien of your nobilite, and barrons of beſt reputation ; be whais aduylſe, togither with thir that ar alreidy in court, your contre may be quyeted, and your fubiectis ſatiſfied. For now, as matters ar handled, to ſpeak of clemency, be cauſing them tak remiſſions, it will want credit and be euell interpret, as not conform to your hynes firſt declairation.

“ The emperor Adrian ſperit out all men of gret age and experience, and helpit him ſelf be ther many parelis.

“ Alexander Seuerus wald parform na matter of importance, bot with aduyce of the maiſt ancientis, and beſt experimented. He never went out of Rome, vn being accompanied, with four or fyve of the maiſt honorable, ancient and graue perſonages, that nane ſuld neid to fear that he wald commit any errour or racles turn. He never ſufferit the ſenat to conclud any weichty purpos, onles fyfty of them had bene preſent. He cauſed all his confellouris to put ther oppinions in wret, to ſe gene any wer poſſeſt with paſſions or particularites. He chengit oft his cheif familiarite with ſindre of the ſenat, incaice he wha had ay and only the prence ear, mycht be ouercom with importunat preſentis, budis and parcialite.

“ The vrgent neceſſite of the tym, maiſt noble and excellent prince, cauſes me to be ſa langſome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kiſſing your Maieſteis hand, I prey the eternell, Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this 15 of October, 1583.

“ Your Maieſteis maiſt humble and obedient ſeruitour,

“ JAMES MELVILLE.”

When I cam to Stirling, and ſchew his Maieſte this lettre, he not only lyked weill of it, bot alſo promyſed to ſolow the ſame aduyſe contentit therin, and lamented for the parciall dealing of many that wer about him. Only he ſaid, that my brother Sir Robert wes vpon a ſound courſe for the quyeting of the eſtair; and that ſome noblemen

againſt whais parcialites he had oponit him ſelf, had diſcordit with him in his Maieſteis preſens.

It pleaſed his Maieſte alſo to tell me the cauſe why I was wreten for, was to be ſent in England, and trauell with the Quen ther, for enterthenement of the mutuell amytye, and increaſe of hir fauour and gud will concernyng the title and ſucceſſion to the crown, and aſſiſtance to help till eſtabliſh his parturbit eſtait, be the inſolence and particularites of his ſubiectis, bred and ingendred amang them during his minorite.

I anſwerit, that the tym wes vnmeit, and that England wald mak na accompt preſently of him, nor nane that mycht be ſent fra him, vntill firſt, he wald let it be ſean and hard that he culd ſattill his awen eſtait, and be wiſdome render his awen ſubiectis redy till obey him. That being done, they wald redout him, and eſteam him ; and that the beſt and redieſt way till obtean alſo ſome day the crown of England, was to gyd Scotland ſa weall, as that they mycht grean and wiſs to be vnder the gouernement of ſic a prince.

Be this langage, his Maieſte was content that my voyage ſuld be ſtayed vntill a mair convenient tym. Sa I returnit fra court to my awen houſe.

P. 162. It is mentionit heir aboue, in the Quen of Englandis lettre, how that ſhe was myndit to ſend a truſty ſaruant vnto his Maieſte, willing him to ſtay fra any ſtrait proceeding againſt the lordis that wer put at for the Raid of Ruthven, vntill the arryuing of the ſaid ambaffadour ; quhilk was the ſecretary Walingame, a confellour of worthy qualites, and wha had gret credit with the Quen of England. Bot he wes of a feakly complexion, and mycht not indure the poiſt ; therfore wes lang be



the way, caried in a colche or chariot ; sa that during his langsome voyage, the Erle of Arran past ay fordwart, and forget the tenour of the Quen of Englandis lettre.

Sa schone as his Maieste was aduertist of the arrayuing of Sir Francis Walsingame, I was sent for to com to court, and was directed to ryd and welcom him in his hynes name ; and to bear him company, and convoy him about be Stirling to Sant Jhonstoun, wher his Maieste thocht metest part to geue him prefens. Willing me also to say vnto him, that his Maieste wes richt glaid of the commyng of sic a notable personage, wha was knawen to be endewed with religion and wifdome, and whom he estemed to be his gud frend ; being assured that his tedious trawell in his lang voyage, being diseased as he was, tendit to some mair substanciall pointis, for the confirmation of the amytie between the Quen his sifter and him, then had bene perfourmed at any tym before.

The secretery Walsingame gaif me answer again, that the gret desire he had to establis ane assured amytie between the twa princes and contrees, moued him to tak the embassage in hand him self ; his Maieste being the prince in this world that he louit, nyxt vnto the Quen his mestres, and wiffit ratheft to see and be acquainted with ; and hoped also that his commission fuld succed the better, because he met first with me, his auld frend and only acquaintance in Scotland. For we had bene companions in other contrees ; and dyuers tymes, when I was send or passing throw England, he wald haue me to loge and ly with him self at Londoun, quhilk was cause that we had the mair famylier conference. Wherupon I wret tua feuerall lettres, that his Maieste mycht be the better prouydit to mak answer vnto sic headis as he

wald propone. Then we tok our journey throw Lithco to Stirling, and from that to Perth. He had hard that my Lordis Ceatoun and Li-  
uiftoun wer wreten vnto to convoy him ; bot he requested me to stay  
them, that he mycht haue the mair conference be the way with me ;  
vtherwyfe he wald be compellit to enterdeny the noblemen. It may be,  
that it wes also to let se his awen gret company ; for he had viii score  
horfe in train. Being neir vnto the court, his Maieste fend out twa of  
the consaill to meit him, to wit my L. of Down, and my brother Sir  
Robert.

The nyxt day, his Maieste gaif him audience, accompanied with mester  
Bowes ambassadour resident in Scotland. Ther first raifonyng was  
vpon his Maiesteis liberte, and wherfore he had left the company  
that wer about him, being the best and maist religious sort of his no-  
bilitie, and of her Maiesteis best acquaintance ; and by whom sche wald  
deall in his affaires mor frendly then sche culd do with others, whom  
P. 163. sche culd not sa weill credit ; with hard and schairp speaches confourn  
to his formair wretting. Wherunto his Maieste maid answer aff hand,  
sa grauely and directly that Walsingame wonderit. The nyxt day, his  
Maieste appointed four of the consaill and my self to be with him, to  
raifoun with him, and to se wherat he wald be. Bot he refused to  
deall with any bot with his Maieste, wha hard him again his allane,  
without mester Bowes ; wher he discourfit lang with his Maieste. And  
when he cam fourth from his Maieste, he tok me be the hand, and said  
he was the best content man that culd be ; for he had spoken with a  
notable yong prince, yngnorant of nothing, and of sa gret expectation,  
that he thoct his trauell weill bestowed.

The Erle of Arran defyred to enter in famylier conference with

him ; bot he refused to ſpeak with him, and maid na langer tary, bot tok his leaue at his Maieſte, wha commandit me till accompany him to the ferry. And at our departing from vther, he promyſed at all occaſions to wret vnto me, and lamented that the Erle of Arran was again in court, and in ſic credit with his Maieſte ; quhilk gene he had vnderſtand before he tok his journey, he wald haue ſtayed and ſufferit another to bene ſend. For he culd ſe na ſure courſe to be tane betwen ther Maieſteis, ſa lang as ſic instrumentis had grettest credit about him. For he eſteamed the ſaid Erle a ſcorner of religion, a ſawer of diſcord, and a diſpyſer of trew and honeſt men ; and therefore he wald not ſpeak with him, nor enter in acquaintance ; for he was of a contrary naturell, religious, trew, and a louer of all honeſt men. Therefore Arran to be reuengit vpon him, ſpaired not to do a gret diſhonour vnto his Maieſte. Firſt for diſpyt that he refused to ſpeak with him, he cauſed reſuſe to let the captens of Berwik, and dyuers honeſt gentilmen that cam to convoy the ſecretary Walingame, the entre of his Maieſtes chamber dur ; and then cauſed prepair ane ſcornfull preſent for him at his leaue taking, to wit a ring with a ſtain of criſtellin, in ſtead of a rich dyamont, quhilk his Maieſte had appointed for him, valuyng vij<sup>c</sup> crownis ; quhilk he was oftymes myndit to ſend bak again vnto his Maieſte, rather to let him ſe how he was abuſed, then how he was vſed. Some promyſe was alſo maid vnto him, anent the repairing of ſome wrangis done be Scottis men vpon the borders ; quhilk he allegit wes not kept ; for Arran did what he culd to diſpleaſe him, and to mak his commiſſion in all pointis vnprofitable, and his trauell to be in vain. Nevertheles he maid ſa gud report of his Maieſteis vertus and qualities, that it put him in ſome ſuſpition at his retournyng to the court of England ; wher ſchortly after he tok feaknes and died.

My oppinion is, that gene God had granted him langer lyf, he wald haue bene fond a gret frend vnto his Maieſte ; wha maruelit that the cheif ſecretary of England, bourdinit with ſa many gret affaires, ſeakly and agit, ſuld haue enterpryſed ſa painfull a voyage without any purpoſ. For he culd not yet perſaue what was his errand, ſaif only that he gaif his Maieſte a gud conſaill. Bot he being religious and of gud conſcience, was ſa deſyrous to ſe, and vnderſtand aſſuredly the lyk qualities to be in his Maieſte, as he hard oftymes

P. 161. be report, that he retournit with gret contentement in his mynd for that part, bot very ſorowfull for the company that he fand in greteſt fauour and credit about his Maieſte ; vnloked for, be raiſoun of a wretting that his Maieſte had ſend vnto the Quen his meſtres, promyſing not to bring in again to the court the ſaid Erle of Arran without hir aduſe and conſent. For my part, I never ſaw ſic apperance of a proſperous eſtait, for his Maieſteis honour, ſurete, loue and obedience of his awen ſubiectis, increaſe of the number of his frendis in England, to the aduancement of his title, nether befor that tym nor ſen ſyn, gif the ſaid Arran had not bene brocht again to the court ; quhilk I left not on declaired to his Maieſte dyuers times, not without ſome parell.

Indeid his Maieſteis intention was, not that he ſuld remain at court, bot only to com and kiſs his hand, and to retourn bak again to his houſe. He again being anes enterit, wan ſome of the lordis, whais particulaires he promyſed to ſet fordwart, ſa that they wald concur with him, and ſchaw his Maieſte how neceſſaire his preſens and abyding about him wald be ; and how that my gentill proceeding wald wrak the K. and them all. Handling the matter ſa, that he remanit at court, and myndit to mak him ſelf and his aſſiſters riche, be the wrak and

spoile of vthers, wha had tane his Maieſte at the Raid of Ruthven, and then he and they to gyd all at ther plefour. Sa many of them as ſchot at particulier markis, ran a ſtrait courſe with him, becauſe they thoct to mend them ſelues be his credit, and fearit to tyn his Maieſteis fauour, incaice that Arran wer not ther frend. And ſome of them did what they culd to perſuad me to do the lyk, alleging that vtherwayes I wald be ſchut out. Quhilk cam till paſs ſchortly efter, becauſe I wald not zeld, nor concure to caſt all lowſe, to the parell of his Maieſteis eſtait and reputation ; remembring what was intendit, promyſed and proclamed, at his Maieſteis paſſing to his liberte.

It is certane, that the lordis that maid that enterpryſe had gret occaſion geuen them to be miſcontent, bot na ſufficient cauſe to enuyroun or compell ther ſouerein prince, to remoue fra him them that he lyked ſa weall of. Quhilk rebellious proceeding compellit them alſo, for ther ſurete, to retein and withhald ther King as captyue. His Maieſte again being aduertift and admoniſſit, that the dangerous and ſuſpitiouſ form of doing of the Duc of Lenox and Erle of Arran was able to breid diſordour, tok ouer litle cair to preuen the apperant inconuenientis, and ouer litle deligence to get ſure intelligence and information therof, quhilk brocht him to that ſtrait of taking and keping. For it had bene leſs panes to haue tane gud tent in dew tym, how his contre was gouernit, then to put ordour or remedy therto efterwart. For it is na litle errour, to rendre the maiſt part of the nobilite and ſubiectis malcontentis, nor na gret wiſdome, efter that his Maieſte was in ther handis, to ſlip fra them without ther conſentis. The enterpryſers, aſſiſters and allowers of the dede, being ſa gret a number is culd not be ouertane bot be patience, nor puniſſit bot be ſubuerſion of the eſtait,

P. 165. and parelling of the prince his awen perfone. Yet it pleased God to gyd his Maieſte vnto his libertie, albeit with ſome parell ; with gret honour at the firſt, and with the vniuerfall contentement of all his ſubiectis, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtod his honeſt meanyng and gratioux deliberation, afweill be promyſe as be proclamation, as is alredy ſpecified.

I forget not at all occaſions, for my part, to remember his Maieſte, and reſused the office of ſecretary, becauſe it was ſaid that na man ſuld want his office, benifice, landis, nor eſchait. And as is els mentionit, I opponit my ſelf againſt the Erle of Arran in plane conſaill, becauſe he had fourmed a proclamation againſt the lordis of the Raid of Ruthven, contraire to his Maieſteis formair new maid proclamation of grace and obliuion of all byganes. Therefore he lap out of the conſaill houſe, in a rage at me ; [*alleging the loue that I bure to the lordis wald wrak the K. and them all. I ſaid, the loue that he bure to ther landis wald do it*] and for diſpyt he maid a row of the names of ſa many as ſuld abyld and be vpon the preuy conſaill, and pat out my name. Lykwais he named ſa many of his dependers as ſuld ſerue in euery office, quibilk his Maieſte was myndit not to do without my aduſe. This he cauſed his Maieſte ſubſcryue, aſſiſted be thre of the fairſaid lordis that tok plane part with him ; ſa I was ſchot to the dur, and had na mair place to do gud. His Maieſte gratiouſly excuſed the matter, and ſaid that the lordis had na will of twa brether, baith [*bot mean gentlemen*] to be vpon the conſaill ; bot when he ſuld get a wyf, I ſuld be hir confellour, and cheif about hir. Sa that gene they wer glaid to be quytt of my comber, I was as glaid to be fre fra ther miſreull, not to be a partener with them, to the parelling of ther prince and wrak of his contre.



Yet his Maieſte aſſured me, that he ſuld paſs to Edenbrough, and convene ſic noblemen, barrons and vthers as I had named vnto his Maieſte, to the ſatteling of his eſtait and agreeing with his nobilite, conform to my wreting abonementioned. And that in the mean tym he tald me, that the Erle of Arran thocht meit to ſend in England the biſhop of St Androwes, alleging that he was paſſing to the well of the Spa, for recouery of his health ; wha paſſing throw England, ſuld haue commiſſion to deall with the Quen of England in his hynes affaires ; and incaice he fand her willing to entre frendly and frely with his Maieſte, he ſuld ſchaw hir that his Maieſte wald ſend me ther, to ſatisfie hir mair ſufficiently in ſic thingis as ſche wald requyre ; and to that effect the ſaid biſhop ſuld ſend bak word be a gentilman, Capten Robert Meluill, wha paſt ther expreſſely for to be ſend bak with the ſaid anſwer. I was commandit to wret in the biſchops fauour ; bot he was ouer weall knawen in England. For Meſter Bowes, wha remanit lang in this contre, had informed them ſufficiently of the ſaid biſchopis qualites ; wha was diſdanit in England, and diſhonored his contre be borowing of gold and pretioux fourringis fra the biſhop of Londoun and dyuers vthers, quhilk was never reſtored nor payed again.

His Maieſte nevertheles wald haue me to grant to gang in England, and to be in a redines ; and willit me to mak my awen inſtructions, alleging that I knew what was meateſt for him to requyre at that tym.

P. 166. I wald not tak vpon me to mak my awen inſtructions ; bot I ſaid that I ſuld pen the ſpeeches that I ſuld hald unto hir Maieſte, incaice that I paſt ther ; quhilk kynd of langage, in my oppinion, wald be meteſt for the tym to be vſed, and haldin be any man that ſuld be ſent to that



Quen. Quhilk his Maieſte, efter that he had ſean it, thocht very meit, and conform to his awen meanyng.

HARRANGUE TO BE MAID VNTO THE QUEN OF ENGLAND.

“ Madame, albeit that your Maieſte be elis ſufficiently certified of the King my ſoueranis conformable mynd to ſatiſſie your hyenes, aſweill be Sir Frances Walsingame your ſecretary, as be the biſhop of Sant-androwes his ambaffadour, granting to the ane his haill deſyres be mouth, and declared be the other how ſtraitly he has obſerued and parfoured the ſame in effect ; mair to maife and content your motherly mynd, in ſchawing the takenes of a thankfull and obedient ſonne, then for any gret weall he ſeis ye ſeak therby to your ſelf. Sa that it is his Maieſteis intention yet ſtill, cheifly ſen he hes tane the ſteir and rudder in his awen hand, to ſchaw you ay the langer the mair, the parfyt fruitis of his hartly affection.

“ For now hauyng atteinit vnto ſome yeares of knowlege and dear bocht experience, (by that quhilk has bene oft beaten in his eares,) he is not ygnorant how that your hynes fauour and aſſiſtance mon be mair happy and helply for his aduancement, then can be any aid he may obtean at all the other princes of Europe. Your Maieſte being to him ſa dear a mother, and ſa neir a nybour ; baith your ſubiectis ſeamyng to be bot a people ; ſpecially ſen your prudent gouvernement began, quhilk has not only bene vtterit towardis your awen, bot alſo has extendit vnto the vtilite of vther gret kyngdomes ; cheifly ouerſchadowing this haill yland, to your hynes euerlaſting honour.

“For never in na princes dayes, hes bene sean sic rest, riches, and felicitie in England; and mycht lykwais haue bene in Scotland, gif the particularites of some of the subiectis had sufferit them till ensue your sage, charitable, and loving admonitions, as they are presently sufficient motions to move his Maiestie, whom the matter maist toucht, to direct me towardis your hynes, efter ripe deliberation, and vpon the sure ground of the gud information of sic as are best inclynit, and haue maist experience, to seek the assistance quhilk he has so oft sean sent vnto him, help and healthsome aduise, wher he has so oft found it, and salutary plaisters to be laid vnto the sores that yet daily breidis and ayses in his realm, as restis of the canker and disorder engendred during his minorite.

“Seing then the thing that he craues, is your accustomed kyndnes and confaill, quhilk because the strenth of your constancy will compell yow to continow towardis him, he is the mair hamely to sut the same, as maist seemly for his sibnes, aige and estait so to do; persuading himself that sic frendly offices mycht be vsed betwen yow, as mycht tend to baith your contentementis, and weall of your kingdomes; quhilk for lack of sure intelligence of others inward myndis, be the secret and mutuall conference of deuotions and discret instrumentis, mycht vtherwayes turn to the contraire.

P. 167. “The King my maister knawes that amytye cannot stand vpon a fyd, bot mon be mutuall; and grantis that he has now greter neid of your help then ye of his in many thingis. Bot he thinkis him self as able, and is as willing to deserue fauour at your hand, as any that can contend with him for the same, or wald presume to found the fashious bell of succession in your eares. For his part, he requyres na instant

declaration therof, bot will continually craue, be his behauour, all sic preferment, as ane humble sone aucht to seak at a louing and hartly mother. Because he esteemes that a word of your Maiesteis mouth, at a convenient tym, fall sufficiently serue his turn ; being yet yong enough till abyd any benefit it may pleise your Maieste prouyd for him ; acknowledging the prorogation of your yeares maist proffitable to supplie his youth, confidering the neecessite he has now of your assistance, in the rewling of this his present and                      estait, he esteames that he wald haue double ado with your help, gif ouer early he had any greater handling.

“ Therefore, Madame, he desyres yet bot hunting and pafetym, vntill he be of greter rypenes and maturitie ; wissing in the mean tym vnto your Maieste ane lang lyf, a prosperous regne, and as gud successe in your proceedings heirafter, as ye haue had hitherto ; that hauing sa happily and sa honorably rewled in a maner baith the realmes, thir many yeares hyegane, ye may be as able to leaue them sa junit together in a cordiall and staible monarchie, as that the bliffit and parfyt end of your prudent proget may confirm and crown the worthynes of your reputation, in finiffing the wark quhilk many had sa oft in vain enterprysed ; as the only prince that euer obteanit the haill handling and hartis of all Britane without bluid.

“ The first empyre therof began and appropriate in your personne, sa plaisantly and peceably rewled in your tym, and sa justly and rycht-eoutly distribut and left efter yow, not only to the worthyest, as did Allexander, bot also to the norest of your frendis and kinsfolkis, as did Ceasar, to avoid bludschedding then as of before ; lyk a kyndly mother to the King, the contre and commownweall, to the gret plea-

four of God, to the perpetuall prayſe of your memory, and to the vni-verſell weill and felicitie of this hail ylland."

Gif the Quen of England culd haue credit his Maieſteis toward and modeſt inclination, as it was and is indede, ſche mycht haue had ane affured frendſchip and concurrence of him for hir tym. Certainly his Maieſte was euer myndit to haue kepit this kynd of frendly and diſcret correſpondence with hir ; for he was informed, how litle ſpeid the Quen his mother cam, for ſutting continowally to be declaired ſecond perſone of England ; as may be ſean in that quhilk I haue wreten of before, tuiching hir procedingis with the Quen of England, wha will never grant to declaire a ſecond perſone bot be force and compulſion, quhilk has not lyen in the power of Scotland to do, during the riche and paiſ-able regne of this Quen. Yet faire and diſcret langage and behauour, gaif plaice and acces to his Maieſteis ambaffadouris, to paſs to and fra, to won frendis and get intelligence. [*This my oppinion was wreten and ſet down                      yeares before hir Maieſteis diſſeaſe.*]

P. 168.

Now the Erle of Arran, perſauyng that be na perſuaſion he culd get his Maieſte ſtayed on paſſing till Edenbrough, ther to conuene ſic noble-men, barons, bourgeſſes and miniſters, meateſt to ſatle his troubleſt eſ-tait, be taking vp again and folowing fourth his formair gratioux in-tention and promyſe, baith be proclamation and ſpeeches vnto dyuers noblemen, barrons, and miniſters ;—the ſaid erle ſeing that he mych. not directly ſtay that gud purpoſ, ſa contraire to his pretences, he fiſt maid his moyen to be maid chanceler, and then capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough ; that be his gret offices, attour his credit with his Maieſte, he mycht terrifie all ſic as durſt opon them ſelues to his courſes or pro-poſitions. Then he vſed his craft, to peruert and draw the effect of the

convention clean contrairy to his hynes intent ; for he delt and spak with euery lord and barron apart at ther commyng ; and schew them how gratiouſly his Maieſte was myndit, towardis ſic as had tane him at the Raid of Ruthven, as to grant euery ane of them particulair remiſſions ; ſome of them to be a whyll abſent out of the contre, and others to remain at hame in ther awen houſes, abſent from court ; alleging that wha euer wald ſay that this form of puniſſement was not gret clemency, they wald tyn his Maieſteis fauour, as men that had na reſpect to his honnour and ſuretie ; being ane odious crym to haue layed handis forceably vpon ther natywe prince.

This matter being ſa ſet out and delated be him that apperit to know maiſt of his Maieſteis mynd, and had the greteſt offices in his hand, it was found and voted be them all to be gret clemency vſed be his Maieſte, towardis them that had committed ſa odious a crym. His Maieſte was very glaid to heir them all conclud in ane oppinion, not knowing nor apprehending how they wer all perſuadit and turnit, as preoccupied be the Erle of Arran ; part of them for fear, part for ygnorance, and others for flattery, till obtean fauour of him whom they eſteamed to gyd baith King and contre. Few or nane of them for the tym did confidder the apperant danger of a plane diſpaire, be them that wer ordonit to tak remiſſions, in ſtead of that quhilk was of before allowed for gud ſeruice, in reſpect of ther gret nombre ; quhilk culd not haue bene otherwyſe ouertane nor puniſſit, without the hazard of his hynes awen princely eſtait and credit, quhilk all diſcret and worthy princes are laith to bring in doubt. This allowance of gud ſeruice has bene oft practyſed in France during the tym of ther ciuill waires, when ther lait princes wer bot yet yong, and wher the malcontentis,

or pretenders to reform the estate, wer so many and mychty as to make a party vnto ther king.

Because I was not yet com to the first day of the said convention, his Maiestie tald me, that same nycht at my comyng, what was proceedit and voted at ther first meting, quhilk he beleued wald be to my gret contentement; willing me the nyxt day to be present. Bot I said, that I was fory from my hart for it that was ther concludit, sen it was in effect clean contraire to his intention, wher he thocht to haue sattelit his estate, to se it casten lowe; and that the dyce was casten, and the discention so increffit, to the kendling vp of new dispayred enterpryses, that the chance wald bear away the maistery and victory. For they that wer compellit to tak remissions, wald think it to be ther ditay; and that ther formair securites being alterit, ther was na mair plaice left for any sort of agreement.

P. 169. His Maiestie tok this vnfaury sayinge of myn, so contrair to the opinions of many, in ane euell part, and askit at me, gene I thocht not the Raid of Ruthven trefoun. I answerit, that I thocht it so indee; [*ay vntill*] bot sen his Maiestie, wyfely and circumspectly, had not only him self and his haill counsaill allowed it for gud seruice, bot also had wreten it to the Quen of England, and had send his commissiouners to the generall assemblie, halden for the tym in Edenbrough, willing the haill ministers, at ther retournyng to ther ordinary parishes, to cause the principall gentlemen of ilk schyre to subscriue a signatour, or the copy, wherin the Raid of Ruthven was allowed for gud seruice, and to be redy to defend the same.

I declaired also vnto his Maiestie, how that ther was a commoun clause contenit in all remissions, to wit, " Except the laying handis vpon the



Kingis persone ;" then what vnseurete they mycht haue be ther remissions, his Maieste culd easely juge. His Maieste answerit again, that fendle or never has any remission bene sean broken ; and maruelit, what moued me to speake and think vtherwayes then the rest of the counsaill. I said, gene I had alwayes spoken lyk the rest, I had not bene put anes aff the counsaill be the Erle of Arran ; whais qualites I had of before descryued vnto his Maieste, and what inconvenientis he was able to bring in with him, at his new entring again in court ; and requested his Maieste, for his awen weall, to send him hame for a whyll to his awen house. For be his dealing, as I was infourmed, the conclusion of the convention was sa drawn, quhilk mycht schortly bring on new dispaired enterpryses. His Maieste said, that I was in the wrang to the Erle of Arran, and that ther wald neuer be any ma enterpryses. I affirmed that ther wald be continowally, ay and whill the lordis that wer put in dispaire, mycht mend them selues, or find them selues in a bettir seurete. And said mair ouer vnto his Maieste, that the Erle of Arran wald yet again put his persone and crown in parell. Sa that his Maieste left me in ane anger ; and yet turnit about and sperit, " wha fall then remain about me, gif I put away the Erle of Arran ?" I said, the Erles of Marche, Argyll, Eglington, Montrose, Marchall, Rothes, Huntly, and Crafford, with some ministers and barrons that wer knawen not to be factious.

Bot sa many of the noblemen and of ther frendis, as wer yet remaining within the contre, efter that they had hard of thir remissions, they layd ther headis together, and wan dyuers lordis that wer about his Maieste to mak a new enterpryse, and wer myndit to slei the Erle of Arran, the crownell Stuart, and some vthers that wer about his Maieste,



ther greteft ennemys, albeit it wer in his Maieftis prefens; and that way to becom maifters again of the court. Wherof I not only was aduertift, be fome that I had fchawen plefour vnto; bot also they aduyfed me to abfent my felf from court, for thre or four dayes, to efchew the firft fury of the alteration; for the Erle of Arrans hattrent maid me to be weill lyked of be dyuers honeft men. I again, to faif his Maiefte from parell and dihonour, thocht it my dewty till aduertis him; willing him yet to fend hame the faid erle. I can not tell what moued the Erle of Arran, bot he defyred me to fupper with him that fame nycht, quhilk I refufed. The nyxt day again, he tok me be the hand before his Maiefte, faying that I fuld dyn with him and fchew me a frendly contenance in his Maieftis prefens; for his Maiefte had forbiddin him till offend me in any fort, as he wald retean his fauour. Gif he had gottin any word of my contrary oppinion to his, I can not tell, or that I had defyred him to be fent hame; bot ther was fome apperance, be his behauour and paffionat fpeeches vnto me fchone efter, that I had fchawen my oppinion vnto his Maiefte; as men may juge, for leading me be the hand to dyn with him in his Maieftis prefens, quhilk I culd not refufe to do.

P. 170. Bot before we fat down to dinner, he askit at me how all wald be. I again thocht meit to tell him all that I had fayd vnto his Maiefte. "Then," faid he, "ye wald place about him the Erle of Marche, wha is a fule, gydit be the lard of Cambo and Robert Seuez." I faid, he behoued to be ane with the reft of the noblemen alredy named. He faid, it fuld pafs my power, or any mans, to caufe him leaue his Maiefte, fa lang as he was in fic danger. I anfwerit, that the K. was in danger for na vther caufe, bot becaufe he was befyd him. I parfauit that he

had a gret misfyking of me in his hart, quhilk he bursted fourth efterwart, boisting to put me to the get, gif I fished any mair in his waters. I answertit, that it wald pas his power, gif I pleist to tary ; for I wald get ma honnest men to tak my part, then he wald get throtcutters to assist him. Sa schone as his Maieste hard of this langage, he send his oncle the lard of Caprintown, to reprove him schairply ; wherupon he retired him to the castell of Edenbrough, wherof he wes laitylly maid capten ; bot cam not neir his Maieste, vntill I behoued to pass hame and gaif him place. Quhilk I thocht his Maieste was content that I suld do, to please him ; for his wyf cam daily to his Maieste, and said that her husband had tane displefour, thinking that his Maieste tok my part against him. When I tok my leaue, his Maieste said that he doutet not bot I wald com again when I was send for ; quhilk I tok for asmeikle as not till com again till I was sent for ; not being myndit to haue taried any langer, efter that the foirsaid convention was endit.

Now the Erle of Arran tryumphed, being Chanceler, and capten of the castellis of Edenbrough and Stirling. He maid the haill subiectis to trimble vnder him, and euery man dependit vpon him ; daily inventing and feaking out of new faltis against dyuers, for ther escheitis, landis, benefices, or to get budis ; vexing the haill wreters and lawers to mak fur his giftis and conkissis. And samany of the nobilite as wer in fear of ther estaitis fled, and vthers wer banissit. He schot directly at the lyf and landis of the Erle of Gowry ; for the oracles of the hyland had schawen unto his wyf that Gowry wald wrak, as sche allegit to some of her famyliers. Bot sche helpit fordwart that prophecie the best sche culd ; for Gowry had bene his first maister, and dyspyted

his insolent pryde, oppreſſion and miſbehauour, plainly in conſaill, quhilk few vthers durſt do. Therfore he hatted his perſone, and louit his landis, quhilkis he obtenit at lenth. For Gowry had tane purpoſe, being compellit, to paſſe out of the cowntre with his Maieſteis fauour and licence; bot as he was making his preparations ouer langſomly and ſlawly in Dundee, (as he was ouer ſlow of nature,) wher his ſchip was to reſaue him, he was aduertit be ſome factioners, that the Erles of Angus, Mar and maſter of Glames, had ane enterpryſe to come out of Yreland hame, and take the town and caſtell of Stirling; having intelligence with dyvers noblemen, and vthers ther frendis that war in the cowntre malcontentis; ſa that they wer in hope to make a party ſufficient againſt the Erle of Arran. Quhilk moued the Erle of Gowry to ſtay, with intention to take part with them, for the gret diſdain and diſpyt that he had againſt the Erle of Arran.

Then ther was ane vniuerſell miſcontentement in the cowntre for the tym, and ane gret bruit of an alteration. Wherupon the crownell Stuart wrot a lettre vnto me, alleging be his Maieſteis commandement, other to repair to court with diligence, or elſe to ſend my oppinion in wrot vnto his Maieſte, what was lyk to fall out concernyng the gret rumour and bruitis of ane apperant alteration. At quhilk tym I was ſeak of a fever tercian or accels, that maid me vnable for trauell; the

P. 171.

diſeaſe apperantly proceding of diſpleaſure. Therfore I ſend my anſwer in wrot, to ſhew his Maieſte, that ther was indede ane vniuerſell miſcontentement, with a gret bruit, not without apperance of a ſouldain changement, for the miſbehauour of ſuch as wer in court, and gret ſtrait and diſpared eſtate of them that wer put at, being men of qualite actyue and experimented, and that in greter number then mycht

be ouertane ; as I had ſchawen his Maieſte of before, without reſpect of feid or fauour, bot ſemply for his hynes ſeruice ; preing his Maieſte yet again, to ſet fordwart his formair acceptable pretence, intendit at his firſt paſſing to Santandrowes, ſeing na vther aſſured courſe to ſatle his troubled eſtait. This kynd of langage was the better lyked of for the tym, becauſe of ſa many aduertifmentis that cam daly to his Maieſteis eares.

Thir bruitis and aduertifementis maid his Maieſte to be vpon his gardis, and to uſe moyen to get intelligence. Firſt ſome ſuſpition was tane vpon the lingering of the Erle of Gowry in Dundee. Alſo his Maieſte had ſome aduertifment, that he was not myndit to tak ſchip, bot to ſtay vpon the incommyng of the baniſſit lordis, as ſaid is. His Maieſte alſo dreamed a dream, that he ſaw the Erle of Gowry tane, and brocht in priſoner before him be the crownell Stuart, ſa that his eſtait wes ſattelit he thocht therby. Quhilk wes trew in dede for that tym ; becauſe the lordis that had tane Stirling, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtode of the taking of the Erle of Gowry, fled incontinent fourth of Stirling, and again fourth of the contre ; beleuyng that the ſaid erle had bene tane willingly, ſupponyng his affection to be ſa gret vnto his Maieſte, as a neir kinfman com of the houſe of Angus, his mother being a naturall dochter of the ſaid houſe ; as alſo that he was never vpon the firſt deuyſe of any enterpryſe, bot drawn therupon efterwart be the craftynes of vthers. Therefore his Maieſte had compaſſion vpon him and was not myndit to tak his lyf. Bot the Erle of Arran was myndit to tak his landis, quhilkis he deuydit efterwart with ſome others, to get ther votis and conſentis that he mycht be wrackit. At his death, being vpon the ſkaffald, he ſchew himſelf a deuot chriſtien.

and a resolut Romane, mekle regretted with many that wer present, and hard his graue harangue, and saw his constant end.

Efter his death, ther was quyetnes for a whyll, without apperance of lang continowance. During this litle whyll of faire wether, ther was a parlement halden, to forfalt the baniffit lordis. at the instant desyre of sic as hoped to be the better be other mens wrak. Among others I was wreten for, and gratioufly resauit be his Maieste ; wha remembrit vpon some of my speaches, and tok me allane vnto his cabinet, and inquiryt how I thocht then of all his proceedingis. I sayed, that he had gret cause to thank God, and na gud gyding ; and that ther wald be yet ma enterpryses, and that they wha tok Stirling, and wer reterit again, wald never cese to mak enterpryse vpon enterpryse, ay vntill they mycht se themselues in a better securete. His Maieste said, that they had won sa litle be ther last incommyng, that they wald never do the lyk folly again. I answerit, that wer not the taking of the Erle of Gowry, who they beleuit was tane be his awen devyce, to bewray ther enterpryse, they had obtenit ther intent ; for euen some that wer vpon his Maiesteis awen fyd, wald haue junit with them, to put the Erle of Arran out ; whom they assited for aw, and not for loue, and wer beginning to enuy and hate his insolency, and culd not se a fure outgait how to stand be him, and had maid some secret promyses to them be sic as past betwen. Bot feing the Erle of Gowry in handis, and the said lordis therby discouragit to fle away, samany as had maid the saidis promyses, tok vp a new deliberation, and schew themselues frackest in ther contraire.

P. 172. The Lord Burly, cheif reuler in England at this tym, caused send in heir ane Mester Daufoun agent, to se what new busynes he culd

brew ; wha was efterwart maid secretare. For efter the discese of Walsingame, secretary Cicill being aduancit to be Lord Burly, and gret treforer of England, twa secretaries wer chofen ; ane callit Mester Smyth, and this Dauifoun, whais predeceffour was a Scotifman ; wherby he was thocht to be mair able to conkis credit, and had bene heir in Scotland of before, and was at my house in company with Sir Hary Killigrew, my auld frend, when he was resident in Scotland. At quhilk tym, he maid a secret confession to me, that he was com of Scotifmen and was a Scotifman in his hart, and a fauorer of the Kingis richt and title to the crown of England ; and willit me to kep all secret from Mester Killigrew, promysen gif he culd find the meanis to be employed heir, that he suld do gud offices.

His Maieste was for the tym at Facland, and wret for me to be directed to ryd and meit the said Dauifoun ; whom I was commandit convoy to Couper, ther to remain vntill his Maieste had leaser to geue him audience ; and efterwart convoyed him to my awen house, and from that to Facland, wher his Maieste fand bot litle effec in his commission. Bot because Mester Walsingame had refused, at his being heir, to speak with the Erle of Arran, albeit the said erle offred be me to content the said Walsingame in all his desyres, sa that he wald deall and conferre with him, quhilk Walsingame still refused. Bot Mester Dauifoun was directed, at this tym, to deall with the Erle of Arran, to se what vantage mycht be had at his hand ; for my L. Burly was not content that Walsingame was sa precisé. Therefore Dauifoun enterit hamely with him and was maid his gossip, and hard his frank offers and lyked weill of them. For efter that the lordis wer fled in England and forfalted, the confaill of England thocht they had some



ground wherby to build vp a new stark faction, to trouble the K. and his eftait. And wheras the laid Dauifoun had promysed of before to schaw himself a kyndly Scotifman, I parfaut him clean alterit, and a very prackyfer againft the quyetnes of this eftait ; quhilk I schew vnto his Maiefte.

Efter his retournyng, England apperit not to tak sic a fkar at the Erle of Arran as they had done ; for ther was a meting drawn on at the borders, between the Erle of Hunsdane and the Erle of Arran ; wha had lang and preuy conference together, to kepe a gret frendfchip between the twa princes and contrees, with a fecret complot, that the Erle of Arran fuld kepe the King on married for thre yeares. In fa doing, ther was a yong maid of the bluid in England that wald be about that tym redy for mariage, with the quhilk the Quen wald declaire his Maiefte fecond perfone, &c.

This was a difceatfull trafic, and kepit fecret fra euery body, to hinder the K. to deall for any other proffitable and honnorable matche. The Erle of Arran thinking him felf fatelit, being in frendfchip with the Quen of England as he fupponit, moued his Maiefte to fend ther the Maifter of Gray ; wha was entrit in gret fauour and familierite with his Maiefte, be fome fecret dealing and intelligence he had maid with the Quen his Maiefteis mother in England, be the meanis of fome of hir frendis in France, he being ther ; and was bot laityly com hame, and brocht with him some wretingis directed from hir Maiefte to the King hir fonne ; and convoyed the anfwers bak again, be a moyen that he had in England with fome that fauorit hir Maiefte ; and was a gret dealer alfo between hir Maiefte and fome catholikis in England. For



weill lyked of be his Maieſte, that Arran thocht meit till abſent him from court be this ambaſſade ; nevertheles employed him alſo in his courſe begon betwen him and the Erle of Hunſdane, as ſaid is. And yet when he was at the court of England, ſa weill eſteamed and trait-ed, as was reported be ſic as wer ſent bak, it wes allegit be ſome of the Maiſter of Gray his frendis, that the Erle of Arran began till enuy him, and mak miſreport of him vnto his Maieſte, as thoeh he had diſcouerit vnto the Quen of England, a gud part of the Quen of Scotlandis purpoſes and procedingis.

Alwayes, the ſaid Maiſter retournit again weall rewardit, and commendit for his behauour, qualites and diſcretion vnto the Kingis Maieſte, to the gret increaſe of his credit with the King. Not lang efter his hamecommynge, he wes infourmed what miſreport had bene maid of him in his abſence ; quhilk he recompenſit the beſt he culd with court charite, at ſic convenient tymes, that he pat Arran be litle and litle out of conceat.

The Maiſter of Gray alſo foirwarnit his Maieſte of a notable perſonage that was vpon the way, ſent vnto his Maieſte be the Quen of England, to honour him and bear him company, and to entertenye a ſtraiter frendſchip betwen that Quen and him, nor had bene maid at any tym before ; and that the ſaid ambaſſadour, callit Meſter Wotton, wald not faſche his Maieſte with negocis nor contre affaires, bot with honeſt paſſ-tym, be hunting, halking, and horſfryding ; and with frendly and mirry diſcourſes, as ane com laitly out of Italy and Spain, expert in langages and cuſtomes of contrees, and a gret louer of his Maieſteis richt and tytyle to the crown of England. Sa that his Maieſte was rauiffit to loue him before his commynge, and cauſed wret for me to com with diligence, to entertenye the ſaid ambaſſadour.

At my commyng to court, I was the better tane with, that Arran was a litle disgracit. The Maister of Gray was then my gret frend ; for his Maieſte had tald him, how that I had euer reſiſted the Erle of Arrans furious proceedingis. His Maieſte deſyred me, as I wald do him acceptable ſeruiſe, to bear gud company vnto the ſaid ambaffadour ; declaring vnto me all his properties and gud qualites abone ſpecified, willing me alſo to bancket him at my houſe. Bot efter I had hanted certane dayes with him, I remembrit that I had eyther ſean him or his brother of before in France, with his oncle doctour Witton, wha was ther ambaffadour reſident for Quen Mary of England, the tym that ſche was married with King Philipe of Spaine. During quhilk tym, ther wer gret gelouſies and ſuſpitions between France and England ; 3it ther was het warres between the Kingis of France and Spain ; bot the paice continowed ſtill with the Quen of England, wha was laity married be the King of Spain. Sche ſeamed to kepe ſtill gud paice with France ; in the mean tym ſend ouer till Flanders baith men and money, to the help of the K. hir huſband. The auld Conſtable of France for the tym, wha had the haill handling of the contre affaires vnder K. Henry the ſecond, reprochit the Engliſ ambaffadour, for that the Quen his meſtres was doing what ſche culd to brek the paice. The ambaffa-

P. 174. dour excuſed his meſtres, alleging that gif any of her contre men ſeruit in the warres vnder the K. of Spaine, that they wald be found bot common wageours, redy to ſerue any man for money ; and denied that ſche knew of ther paſſing in Flanders, or that ſche debourſit any ſiluer for the warres. Albeit, ther was cauſe and matter anough miniſtred vnto hir, be reſauing and retenyng in France all hir rebelles and fugitiues ; geving them penſions and enterntenement, and ſtering them vp

with enterpryses against hir lyf and estait. This the Constable denyed platly ; only, he said, of a generall gud will that was born to all Englis men in tym of paice, they wer sufferit to lywe in the contre quhilk bure the name of France, wher ther suld be fredome and franchise till euery christien.

The ambassadour being wyfe and subtile, parsaunyng this answer to be bot a meating till his, and that wairres culd not fail to folow vpon this kind of supitious proceedingis, he intendit be some subtilite to circonvene the Constable, and to that effec had send in England for his brother sone, yet yong of xxj yeares, afweill to employ him as to cause him se and learn the Ytalien and Frenche langage. This yong man being arryued in France, with ane Yreland boy to be his interpreter, wha culd speak French, baith in femple array, to be the les suspected to haue any practyse or policy in ther myndis, bot lyk a landuart yong man, addreffit him to some of the K. of France courtours, that he mycht haue audience of his Maieste in a quyet maner, as hauyng a matter of gret importance till propon. The K. again, dyuers tymes directed him to deall first with the Constable. At last when he cam to the Constable, he desyred also at him that he mycht first declare vnto the K. his errand, quhilk was of a gret consequence. Howbeit he knew that the K. spak with na man in sic matters, vntill the Constable had taisted him first, and then tald his oppinion vnto the K., and how till mak answer. At lenth he said, he wald declare the matter vnto the Constable, vnder promyse of gret secrecie, causing the Constable be this nycenes to suspect some practyse ; and when he gaif him audience he desyred me to be present besyde him.

At ther meting quyetly in the Constables cabinet, his Yreland interpretour was put fourth, against his will as apperit ; bot he was sa instruct-

ed be the ambassadour his oncle, to wfe sic landward and rud fassions ; yet again, or he began to propon his errand, he desyred secrefie. The Constable being ane auld wyfe experimented confellour, pat him a litle alyd and roundit in my ear, to wit gene I had seane this yong man at any tym of before. I anfwerit that I had seane him the day before, at lang conference with ane Mester Sommer, secretary to the Englis ambassadour. Then the Constablethocht that he suld handle the matter weall enough ; for he gessit that all this nycenes proceedit from the ambassadour, to trap him ; and calling the yong man, again desyred him to schaw what he had to say. Mester Wotton began to declaire the gret miscontentement that was in England, not only for bringing in the prowde Spanyartis to reull ouer them, bot also for the alteration of religion maid be Quen Mary ; moving many to rebell, and others to remoue aff the contre ; wha neuertheles wer all weall resauit and traited be the Kingis Maieste of France, wherby he had won the hartis of the thrid part of England sa deuotly towardis him, that they wald glaidly put the crown of England on his head, getting ouersicht in religion, to be quyt of the Spanniartis tirranny and terrible inquisition, quhilk was feared suld be

P. 175. also establisht in England. And for the first proif of ther gud will and thankfulnes, a number of lordis and knychtis, wha durst not wret, had send him secretly with ane ouerture and sure outgait, to put the strang town of Cales in his handis, with the hail erldome of Oye. At this the Constable maid a start, and said, "Knaue ye not, my frend, that ther is a sworn paice betwen your Quen and the King my maister ?" The other replies again, how that the Quen of England aydit secretly with filuer and men the King of Spain hir husband, in his warres of Flanders against France. Quhilk the Constable allegit that sche denyed be

hir ambaffadour ; bot willit him to tell out the reft of his commiffion. Then faid he, “ My L., the meanis how ye may get Cales, is this. Firft, the maift part of the town ar of the reformed religion and malcontentis, and hes refused to refaue a garniffoun of Spanyartis. All thir ar frendis to them that fend me, and has intelligence with them. Then only the townfchip kepes ther toun, making watche and ward without wageours, onskilfull to handle ther armes. Therfore the K. fall caufe Mons<sup>r</sup> de Senarpon, his lieutenant in Normandye, to ly in ambufcad at fic a wod, within a myl and ane half to the town, at ane apponted day. Then a fchip, weill furniffit with armed men, fall ly at a raid or anker half myll from the town. Some of thir, cloithed lyk mari-nelis, fall com a land, and haue fwerdis and piftolles vnder ther clais ; and fall await about tua efternun, at quhilk tym the portis of the town ar oppenit to let men in and out. Part of the porters wilbe at ther denner, when ane or tua will com before the leaue till open the gettis. The gettis being ceafet, let ane of the company fchut aff a lang piftolle, that the fchip may heir and fchot a canon, till caufe Mons<sup>r</sup> de Senarpon with his company com fordwart at the flycht fpeid ; and they that ar within the fchip, to vfe the lyk deligence to com fordwart. In the mean tym, ther falbe a mutenirie raifed within the toun be our frendis and parteners, fa that the town falbe obtenit without ftraik.” Efter that the Conftable had hard all this lang difcours, he faid that it was very lykly, and douted not bot it mycht be eafely done. Bot in refpect of the fworn paice, the K. his maifter wald not, nor fuld never haue his confell nor confent to brek the paice ; bot is far obligit to the noblemen that beares him fa gud will. And as for him that has tane fic panes, the K. fuld reward him ; willing me to remember to caufe geue

filuer to the yong gentilman. Sa he wan nathing at the Conftables handis, and cam never again to feak his reward ; but was efterwart manifestly knawen to be brother sone to doctour Wotton, ambaffadour as faid is.

This is he now that was fend in heir, to bear his Maieſte company, as ane that will not medle with practyſes, bot with paſtymes. Bot when I foirwarnit his Maieſte to be war of him, and tald how that he, being litle abone twenty year auld, he was employed to begyll the auld wyſe Conſtable ; now he was fyfty yeares, and his Maieſte bot twenty, it was to be feared that he ga about to begyll him. Yet his Maieſte wald not beleue me, bot thocht gret loue and frendſchip to be born to him be the faid Meſter Wotton, wha becam ane of his Maieſteis maiſt famylier mignons, and waited on at all feild paſtymes, and diſpyſed all buſy conſellouris and medlers in matters of eſtait, as he was inſtructed be ſic as faid he wald pleiſe his Maieſte beſt to ſeam to be ſa, and to viſe ſic langage. Bot he had ma hurtfull fetchis in his head againſt his Maieſte, then any Engliſ man that cam in heir had at any tym of before, alwayes for the ſeruite of his princeſs and contrey, according as the courſe of ther affaires and pretences preſſit them for the tym.

P. 176. Ye haue hard of before of a meting that was drawn on at the Borders, between the Erles of Hunſdain and Arran ; wher at ther ſecret conference, Arran was requyred be the craft of the [Engliſ conſaill] Lord Burley and his faction, to ſtay the King from any mariage for thre yeares, vpon many faire fengzeit promyſes, and alſo to be declaired ſecond perſonne ; at quhilk tym again, Arran granted all that was deſyred, he was ſa glad to get the Quen of Englandis frendſchip. About this tym, the Quen of England, be hir intelligence from Denmark, was



aduertift of a gret and magnifik ambaflade fend be the King of Denmark in Scotland ; thre ambafladours, with a fexfcore of perfones, in twa braue fchippis. Whither fche fufpected, or had hard that it was to draw on a mariage, I can not tell ; bot this far I learnit, that hir confaill fearit, that it was at leaft to confirm a greter familiarite and frendfchip between the tua Kingis and ther contrees ; quhilk was ane of the caufes that moued them to fend in Scotland this Mefter Wotton, to vfe all his wyles to difturb and hender any greter amytie that mycht fucceed, be the faid commiffion and negotiation, between the twa Kingis and ther contrees. For England lippenit nathing to the Erle of Arrans promyfes ; for they efteamed him of a flichteren, inconstant capacite, as is alredy declaired.

Sa fchone as the Dence ambafladours arryuit be fchip in this contre, his Maiefte ordonit me to enterteny them, and to bear them company ; and becaufe they wer thre junit in a commiffion, willit me to chufe any vther twa, that I thocht meteft, to bear them company with me ; and I named vnto his Maiefte the lard of Segy ane of the Seffion, and Willyem Schaw mefter of Wark. Ther names wer, Manderupius Henrych Bello, and doctour Theophilus ; the firft twa wer confellours.

Firft, at Domfermeling they congratulat his Maiefte in the K. ther mafters name, with a lang difcours of the auld amytie, band and muall frendfchip between the twa kingis and ther kingdommes. And laft of all, they requyred the ylles of Orkeney to be reftored again to the crown of Denmark, allegit be them to ly in wedfet, to be redemed again for the fowm of fifty thowfand florins.

Ther commyng and demandis was dyuerfly fkancit vpon ; fome fup-



poning warres fuld enfew, onles the faidis ylles wer not renderit ; others thoct that ther intentions was, to bring on a mariage with the King of Denmarkis dochter.

Now albeit his Maieſte was determinit to trait them weill and honorably, they wer nevertheles mishandled, ruffeled, triffelit, drifted. and delayed heir the ſpace of                      monethes, to ther gret charges and miſcontentement. For they lyued vpon ther awen expenſis, and wer not deffrayed be his Maieſte, as all other ambaffadouris of that nation hes bene ſen ſyn.

When they wer apponted to part out of Domfermeling towardis S<sup>t</sup> Androwes, ther to get ther diſpatche, his Maieſte ordonit to tell them that he fuld ſend them horſe out of the court to ryd vpon. The day of ther parting being com, they ſend away ther bagage and officers before them, and wer buted them ſelues, tareing lang vpon his Maieſteis horſe ; quhilke becauſe they cam not in dew tym, they tok ther journey fordward vpon fut.

P. 177. His Maieſte was very miſcontent, when he vnderſtod how they wer handled, and cauſed his horſe to folow faſt efter them and ouertak them. Then at ther being in Santandrowes, dyuers appointed dayes of conſaill and convention wer broken vnto them, quhilkis wer promyſed to be keped for ther diſpaſche, quhilke they futed continowally for to get. Then men wer appointed to ſkorn them at ther logingis, and before ther windowes, when they loked out to the ſtreit ; ſa that nathing wes left ondone that mycht annoye them, or kendle them vp in choler. Only Meſter Wotton the Engliſ ambaffadour viſited them oft, and bur them gud company, and confortd them at all occaſions, ſeamyng to be ſory that they wer ſa miſuſed ; and offerit to lend them

gold and filuer largely, for the gret frendſchip that he knew to be between the Quen his meſtres and the King of Denmark. For he was affured of gud payment, and thoct to conkis credit at ther handis, be his apperant frendly deling. At lenth, vnder gret ſecret, he ſaid he wald not hyd from them, how that he had hard the K. ſpeak diſdanfull langage of ther contre and cuſtomes ; and alſo that ſome of his gentilmen had hard the K. ſpeak euell of ther K., as com of the race of merchandis ; and that he and his conſaill wer myndit to hald them lang heir, without any diſpaſche, to faſche and tyre them.

Then again the ſaid ambaffadour, and twa of his gentilmen, inſourmed his Maieſte of ther hard ſpeeches of the reprochefull dealing of the K. and conſaill towardis ther maiſter, and alſo of ther rud manners, doildnes and dronkenefs ; and wer fortified and affiſted be ſic as wer about his Maieſte, wha held the lyk ſcornfull langage of the K. of Denmark, his contre and ambaffadours ; moving his Maieſte to mak the les accompt of them. Wherby they wer ſterit vp in ſic a rage, as I had na litle a do to perſwad them in the contrary, and to ſtay them from ſtealing away tua ſeuerall tymes to ther ſchippis, to haue returnit to ther King without any farther anſwer, and to report of the gret lightly and diſdane and injury quhilk they ſaid planly wes done vnto ther K. and contre. For the Erle of Arran was alſo ther ennemy, becauſe they maid na court vnto him, whom dyuers of ther company had knawen to haue bene laitly in Sweden as a ſoldiour. Sa that he wes als redy as the reſt to mok and ſkorn them, albeit the ringleaders for the tym wer complotted together with the Engliſh ambaffadour againſt him.

The principall of the thre ambaffadouris was a wyfe, graue and an-

cien confellour. Henrich Bello wes furious in his ſpeeches ; and the doctour cryed out, “ the K. our meſter is injuried and wilbe reuengit.”

Then I tok Manderupius apart, and requested him to heir me patiently, for he ſpak gud Dutche, bot myn wes not ſa gud, therfore that he wald tak better tent to my meanyng, nor till any wrang word ; and mair cair to cauſe his frendly commiſſion tak effect, that he mycht retourn hame with the happy ſucces therof, then till ſtart and ſteall away, to be called vnhappy instrumentis of diſcord, at the pleaſour of a few ſcornfull factioners, that had layed ther headis together to cauſe them part malcontentis, and to be als euell instrumentis, as they wer myndit at ther incommyng to do gud offices.

P. 178. I tald him, how that the Quenis Maieſte of England was a wyſe, weall inclynit and politik princes, and that ther wer aſmany honeſt and gud men in England, as in any ſamekle boundis of the haill warld ; albeit ther was in it dyuers oppinions and factions, ſchutting at findry markis, as they do in all other partis. And becauſe that ther Quen wald never mary, to bear ſucceſſion of hir awen body, they all tak gret cair to wit wha ſall regne ouer them efter hir. “ The maiſt part of the contre lukis that it ſalbe our K., and wiſſes his weallfaire and proſperite, as being richtous air to the crown of England be baith his fathers ſyd as be his mothers ſyd. Bot ſa many as haue the ſpeciall gyding of the court, ſchut at other particulaire markis of ther awen, mynding to ſet fordwart ſome of them ſelues or of ther frendis, to bruik the kingdome ; and for that cauſe, they mak all the hender they can till our King. Alſo becauſe of ther on mercifull dealing with the Quen his mother, they fearit ſome day to be puniſſit, when he ſalbe King of England. For all thir reſpectis, they practyſe to kepe him from ma-

riage, and from all forren frendſhip and alliance. And that this ſame ambaffadour of England is a very euell inſtrument ; baith him ſelf, his gentilmen, hunting daily with his Maieſte, makis the worſt reportis they can."

The ambaffadour of Denmark anſwerit to that, marveling that Meſter Wotton ſuld mak ſic report of them, offring them ſa gret frendſhip, and geving them dayly intelligence how they wer bot ſcornit and mockit, baith be the K. and his conſaill, to his gret regret ; and offres to len them ſiluer, with all other plefour that lyes in his power. I ſaid, he knew weall enough that he wald get gud payement and gret thankis ; for he eſteamed the King of Denmark a worthy prince, and his ambaffadouris worthy to be honnored. Bot the gyders of the court of England deſyres not that our King ſuld think or eſteam ſa of them ; wiſſing him to haue bot few frendis and many ennemys. Then I aſſured him, that the Kingis Maieſte and haill ſubiectis, (except ſome that wer corrupted be England,) wer determinit to interteny and increaſe a contynowall frendſhip with the K. and contre of Denmark ; preing ther wiſdomes curagiouſly to reſiſt, and not febly and fuliſchly to geue plaice, be ther way paſſing, vnto the ſaidis crafty practyſes of ther ſcornfull envyers, in ſuffering them ſelues ſchamfully to be maid euell inſtrumentis, directly againſt ther awen intention and commiſſion ; and they ſuld ſhortly ſe gud ſucces to folow therupon to ther contentement. Promyſen vnto them, for my part, that I ſuld paſs inſtantly vnto his Maieſte, and with all hazard that mycht com, ſuld diſcouer vnto the Kingis Maieſte, how baith he and they wer diſceatfully abuſed be the double dealing of the Engliſh ambaffadour, and ſic Scotiſmen as aſſiſted him.

P. 179. Vpon this discours and promyse, they went to consaill all thre together, as ther custome was ; and efter lang conference, gaif me answer, that ther commyng was for to do gud offices, and albeit they had sufferit findre injuries, they wald be fory to be maid instrumentis of discord, sa far against ther commission and intention ; and therefore wald stay yet, vpon hope of better handling, and vpon my promyse, albeit to that hour few or nane had bene kepit vnto them, as they allegit.

Efter this, I schew vnto his Maieste how that inconvenientis mycht ensue, vpon the lang delaying and frembd handling of the Dence ambassadours. And yet that I maruelit not that he maid sa little accompt of them, in respect of the gret cair and fyn practyses, that wer vsed to cast them and him findre, be the Englis ambassadour and others his assiters that had his Maiesteis ear for the tym. At the first his Maieste was impatient to heir this langage spoken of personages that he had sa gud lyking of ; and said, that he was informed, that the K. of Denmark was com bot of marchandis, and that few maid accompt of him or his contre, bot sic as spak the Dutch tong. For this was pretefly put in his head, to preuent lest any of my persuations in ther fauour shuld get place or credit. I answerit, that the K. of France, nor Quen of England, culd not speak Dutche, and yet they maid gret accompt of the K. and contre of Denmark ; France having ther ambassadour ordinair lying ther, and paying yearly to the K. of Denmark a gret sowlm of gold, to the valow of 16 or 20 thowlsand crownis. His Maieste said, the mair schame was his. I said, rather to the K. of France, wha mon bye his kyndnes. Nether culd the Quen of England, said I, speak Dutch ; yet sche maid mekle accompt of the K. and con-

tre of Denmark, and durst not offend him nor nane of his schippis, baith be raifoun of the strait passage at Elsfoun vre, and also had gret schippis to tak amendis, incaice sche did him or any of his wrang. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he ſpak bot be way of raifonyng. I ſaid again, be way of wrang inſourmation; and ſaid mairouer, that “ wher it has bene reported vnto your Maieſte of the race of thir kingis, not to be of noble and royall bluid, I ſall ſchaw your Maieſte that it is bot maniſt inventions to cauſe yow diſpyſe them; and that this late K. Frederik is diſcendit of an auld and royall ſtok, [*bot I will paſs na farther therintill*] to wit Criſtiarnus of Denmark the firſt of that name, wha had tua ſonnes, and ane dochter callit Margaret, married in Scotland to K. James the thrid. His eldeſt ſone Jhon was king efter him; his ſecond ſonne Frederik was K. of Noroway and Duk of Holſtein. Jhon had a ſonne callit Chirſtiarnus the ſecond, alſo K. of Denmark, wha married the emperour Charles the fyftis ſiſter, wha bure him tua dochters only. The eldeſt was geuen in mariage to Frederik Electour Palatin; the ſecond to the Duc of Mylan, and efterwart being a widow, married the Duc of Lorrain. Him ſelf was tane and keped in priſoun be his ſubiectis, for ſome rigorous execucion vpon his barrons; and his father brother Frederik was maid K. Efter this Frederik, the Erle of Altenbourg was choſen, be the aſſiſtance of the toun of Lubek; bot Chriſtianus the 3., ſone to the ſaid Frederik, pat him out and conkiſt the kingdome. Neuertheles this Chriſtianus, being a gud prince, wald not chenge ther auld preueleges, bot cauſed him ſelf to be choſen; and lykwais his ſone Frederik in his tym to regne efter him, now preſent K., and wha hes ſend this honnorable ambaffade to your Maieſte, as to his gud frend and kinfman, diſcendit of the kingly race of Denmark.



And wheras he requyres again the ylles of Orkeney, for the discharge of his aith, becaufe euery King of Denmark at his election, that is ane of the articles that is presented vnto hym be the estaitis to fwer, to clame again the saidis yles ; quhilk he hes done for the fassion, and till na vther effect bot to draw on a gretter famyliarite and frendfchip, or elis he had not fend sa honnorable a company, bot rather a harrauld of armes, gif he had bene ernesly bent other to get the sayd yllis, or to discord and feicht for them."

Efter that his Maieste had hard this discours, far different to his formair, he was exceding glaid, and said he wald not for his head bot that I had schawen and declaired this verite vnto him ; and that same efternun fend for the saidis ambassadouris, and schew them how sib he was to the King of Denmark ; and excused ther lang delay, and promysed to fe them instantly dispaiched him self, and that within thre dayes or four ; and fend for his eternun and drank to them, and fend them to ther logingis weill content and satisfied ; and commandit a bankit to be prepared for them, quhilk his Maiesteis controllour and officers wer forbidden quyetly to do, and allege the skantnes of thingis. Bot the lard of Segy and I delt with the Erle of Marche, wha prepared a gret banket to them in his Maiesteis name ; to the gret discontentement of Mester Wotton and his practisiens, wha durst not kyeth, bot wald not suffer his Maieste to be present at the banket, bot to dyn in his awen chamber. Yet his Maieste being infourmed be me how thingis wer vsed, raise from his awen denner, and past to the banket houle, and drank to the K. the Quen and ambassadours of Denmark ; and sa contented them ay the langer the better, and caused ther dispaich to be in a redines conform to his promyse. Bot when I aduertist his Maieste



that ther was na present preparit for to reward them withall, he was maruelous fory, and sayed they wald schame him that had the handling of his affaires.

Now at this tym was the Erle of Arran at court, not sa gret in fauour as he was wont to be. During the quhilk tym ther chancit a racles misfreull to fall out, at a day of meting betwen the twa wardens vpon the Borders, wher Sir Francis Russell vpon the Englis fynd was slain. Wherupon the Englis ambassadour tok occasioun to lay the wyet vpon the Erle of Arran ; alleging that the lard of Fernihest, wha was wardane vpon the Scotis fynd, had married the Erle of Arrans brother dochter, and that the said erle had caused the slauchter to be maid, that the Borders mycht brek. Wher the said ambassadour was weil affited be the Mester of Gray and his marrowes ; sa that the Erle of Arran was

P. 181. commandit till ward within the castell of Santandrowes, and kepit straitly thre or four dayes. Sa that being in fear of his lyf, he send for the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and me, and lamented vnto us his hard handling ; purging himself, as he mycht justly do, of that accident that fell out vpon the Borders, and requested us to procure for his liberte. Also he declairit vnto us a secret, to be schawen vnto his Maieste, incaice his lyf wer tane fra him ; quhilk was of a promys maid vnto the Quen of England, that the K. suld not mary with any party for the space of thre yeares, wherof I haue maid some mention of before. Neuertheles he forget not to trauell for him self, for he send his brother Sir Willyem to the Mester of Gray at midnycht, and promysed to get vnto him the abbey of Donfermeling, sa that he wald obtene his liberte at his Maiesteis hand. Quhilk was granted incontinent, and also the said benefice disponit vnto the said Maister ; wherat

the Englis ambaffadour was in a mayn raige at the Mafter. Bot ther difcord was efterwart agreed be Mefter Jhon Maitland fecretaire and the Juftice Clark ; and the Erle of Arran was ordonit to reteir him hame to his houfe. Bot before his hame paffing, his Maiefte was infourmed to defyre him with all poffible deligence, to lend him a great chengnge, that he had gottin of befoir from Sir James of Balfour, quhilk weyed a vij<sup>e</sup> and fifty corowns, to be geuen vnto the Dence ambaffadouris ; quhilk gene he had refufed he wald haue tint the K., and in delyuering of it he fuld tyn the chengnge.

In the mean tym, the ambaffadouris vnderftanding that ther difpafche was in a redines, tok ther leaue fra his Maiefte, wha was alfo redy to part out of Santandrowes. I infourmed his Maiefte not to delyuer them ther difpafche, becaufe the cheingnge was not yet com ; for they wer myndit incontinent to mak faille, in refpect of ther lang tary, and that the winter feafoun was at hand. Albeit, I had fchawen to ane of ther familier faruandis, that certane rewardis wer to com ther within tua dayes ; preing them to ftay that lang amang the reft. Quhilk they wald not grant to do, bot paff to ther fchippis, wher I faid I fuld bring vnto them ther wrettingis and difpafche ; quhilk I requested his Maiefte to caufe delyuer vnto my handis, to be kepit vntill the cheingnge cam, quhilk was deuydit in thre partis, for it was belliffent. When I cam to ther fchippis, they wer going to fupper ; quhilk being done, I delyueret vnto them ther anfwer in wret, with ther chengngeis, and fome excufes for ther lang tary and litle reward, alwayes to ther gret contentement ; affuring me that they fuld be gud instrumentis of amytie, albeit be euell vſing they wer anes myndit to do otherwayes ; and that ther commiffion tended not to difcord, bot to bring on greter frend-

schip. Nether war they commandit to speake of mariage, wherof ther was a wain bruit ; thoch the K. ther maister had fayre dochters, any of the quhilkis being futed, as is requisit that gentilwomen be, they supponit the clame of Orkeney fuld ga rycht. Thanking me for the gud offices I had done, wher in staving them to part in displeasour, the twa contrees wer preferued from hait warres ; quhilk they fuld not fail to declare vnto the K. ther maister, with whom they fuld not fail to mak my acquante ; not dowting bot the K. my mester wald some day say, that I had done him gud seruice. Sa I tok my leaue, efter that I had rewardit the gonners, trompetis and taboringis.

P. 182. At my retournyng to the court, I schew vnto his Maieste how that the Dence ambassadouris had maid fail to ther awen contre weall satisfied, and of all other speeches that was betwen them and me at ther parting. Whervpon his Maieste tok occasion schortly efter to send in Denmark, offering that commission first vnto me ; quhilk I schifted me of, parfauing sic as had his Maiesteis ear and maist credit, contrary to his mariage, and still vpon ane course with England ; and named Mester Peter Yong, mester almowsser to his Maieste, to be very meit for that errand. Wha was send in Denmark, to thank that K. and to se his dochters, that he mycht mak report again of his lyking of them ; with a promyse that his Maieste fuld send ther or it wer lang ane honnorable ambassade.

The Erle of Arran being sent hame, as said is, the Englis ambassadour and his Scotis frendis, as the Mester of Gray, the secretery Maitland and Justice Clark, had the cheif credit and handling of his Maiesteis affaires. The said ambassadour had conkiffit sic fauour, and famylier acces about his Maieste at all tymes, and at hunting, that he was

vpon ane enterpryse to haue brocht in secretly the baniffit lordis, to haue fallen down vpon ther knees in the park of Stirling before his Maieste, at sic a tym as they suld haue sa many frendis in court as that his Maieste suld haue remanit in ther handis, as maist mesters of the court for the tym. Bot this enterpryse failed him, for they durst not yet tak sic hazard as till com in, till they mycht lay ther platis mair substanciouly.

Then the said Englis ambassadour enterprysed, to transport his Maieste out of the park of Stirling into England; and sailgeing therof, his Maieste to be reteanit be force within the castell of Stirling, wher companyes of men wer send for to be ther at ane appointed day. Wherof the secretary Mester Jhon Maitland gaif some intelligence vnto my brother Sir Robert, wha tald it incontinent vnto the Kingis Maieste, and the names of some of the principall enterprysers. And becaufe it cam to ane of ther eares that affirmed stoutly the contrair, wherupon my said brother forsit to mantean the same be the offer of a singulair combat; quhilk his Maieste wald not suffer, becaufe the personage grantit it vnto his Maieste. Wherupon my said brother perswadit his Maieste, with gret dificulte, to depart out of Stirling for ten or xv dayes, and hunt at Kincarn, before that the enterpryse mycht be rype; quhilk sa schone as the said ambassadour vnderstode, he fled in gret fear and haist, without gud nycht or leaue taking at his Maieste; weill instructed and founnissit with the promyses of sic as had assistit him in our court, to perswad the noblemen that wer baniffit in England to com hame, wher they suld find frendis anew before them in court, to put his Maieste in ther handis as of before. The Mester of Gray also absented him self, and past to Donkell, and ther remanit with the Erle

P. 183. of Athell. And vpon some bruitis of enterpryses, ther was a proclamation fet out in his Maiesteis name be sic as had his ear, to conkis the mair credit to be trew and cairfull confellours for his Maiesteis securete ; quhilk proclamation was efterwart drifted be craft, that the baniflit [lordis] mycht prevene the day, and com in and get the K. in ther handis, wherby they mycht discharge the proclamation at ther plesfour.

In the mean tym, I refaut a wretting to be at his Maieste with all possible deligence, and another wretting from the Erle of Arran, to accompany him from Kinneill to the court. Bot I past vnto his Maieste, wher the said Erle of Arran cam also that same nycht ; for he had procured that he mycht retourn again to court, and remain about his Maieste. At my commyng to Stirling, I gat intelligence, from a secret frend, how that the said lordis were alredy at the entre of the borders, affistid be my Lord Hammiltoun, my L. Maxwell, my L. Bodouell, my L. Hume, and findre others that wer not junit with them of before ; also the Erle of Athell, the lard of Tullibarden, Bacleuch, Sesford, Codownknowes, Domlanerik, and others that wer in gretest credit about his Maieste, to concure with them at ther incommyng. Wherof I aduertist his Maieste and the crownell Stuart ; wha tok in hand to ryd vnto the borders, and ouerthrow them befor that ther haill forces fuld meit together ; quhilk was a licly purpos, gene the matter had not bene craftely disaponted be sic as wer about his Maieste, wha seamed to fet fordwart the crownelis enterpryse, to please his Maieste and to conkis credit ; saying they fuld send missyues vnto Kowdonknowes, Bacleuch, Sesford and sic others, to affist with him, whom they knew to be vpon the contrary faction alredy. Sa that the said apperant enterpryse was turnit to na purpos, and his Maieste mocked. And becaufe I had

schawen some of them what aduertismentis I had gottin, and how that his Maieste was lyk to be straited with a new taking, I was answerit with scornfull langage. And incontient they caused his Maieste to send me a fengzeid errand to Donkell, that they mycht the better bring ther purpos to pass without any gainsaing. The coulour of my commission was, to cause the Erle of Athell byd at hame, and not to jun with the lordis that wer to com schortly to Stirling; and be the way to delyuer a lettre to the balzeis of Sant Jhonstoun, to be vpon ther gardis, and not to suffer any of the Kingis ennemys to com within ther toun. The balzeis inquyred at me, what gif the Erle of Athell and Mester of Gray wald defyre to com within ther town. I said they mycht let them selues enter, with ten in company, bot na ma. They allegit that ther lettre specified not that far. I schew them how that was committed to me be mouth; the conclusion of my lettre willing them to credit me. When I cam to Donkell, I knew that the Erle of Athell wald not stay for me; wha had a thousand men in a redines to tak the toun of Sant Jonstoun, and to com forduart to Stirling, togither with the Mester of Gray wha was yet with him. Bot I schew him that the crownell Stuart was riden with forcis, to deffait the lordis at ther entring in the contre, before they mycht be junit together; therefore he wald do weill to ly at hame, vntill he mycht vnderstand the yssue of the said cronelis enterpryse. Gif that tok effect, it wer folly to him till marche forduart; and gene it tok na effect, he mycht do as his hart ferued him. He thocht this confaill gud; willing me to wret vnto his Maieste for a lissence to him and his to remain at hame fra the proclamation, quhilk I did.

In the mean tyme, the Mester of Gray wes sent for to the court; the



P. 184. portis of the toun of Perth being refused to his men, wha wer com out of Angus to assist him. At his retournyng to court, he was alse gret with his Maieste as euer he was, and remanit within the castell of Stirling with his Maieste ; wher ther wer twa factions that kythed them felues, sa fchone as they saw the malcontentis and baniffit lordis draw neir vnto the toun of Stirling ; wher they cam to the number of thre thowfand, and entrit into the toun without stop. For his Maieste inclynit maist to the faction that brocht in the faidis lordis ; wha aduyfed his Maieste to send some of them down to the toun, to commown and compon matters. Quhilk was agreed vpon at lenth, that his Maieste fuld remain in ther handis, and na rygour to be vsed vnto them that wer about him ; sa that they wha past betwen mycht appear to be gud instrumentis, and stayers of bludscheding. For Arran was eschaiped and fled at ther first entre ; bot the crownell Stuart only with ten or tuelf, gaif them sic a charge in the midis of the narrow part of the toun, that a litle mair help mycht haue put them in gret difordour ; for the maist part of ther southland men and borderers wer busy spoilgeing horse and geir.

The lordis, when they cam to his Maiesteis presens, fat down vpon ther knees, humbly craving pardone, for that ther hard handling be Arran and vther partiall persones about his Maieste had compellit them, vpon plane necessity and for ther last refuge, to tak the baldnes to com in armes for the fauete of ther lyues and landis ; alwayes humbly myndit to serue and obey his Maieste.

The King again, lyk a prince full [of] curage and magnanimite, spak vnto them pertly and boistfully, as thoch he had bene victorious ouer taem, calling them traitours, and ther enterpryse plane trefoun. Yet,



faid he, in respect of ther neecessite, and in hope of ther gud behauour in tymes commyng, he fuld remit ther faltis ; and the rather becaufe they had vsed na vengeance nor crewelte at ther incommyng.

In the mean tyme, his Maieste committed and recommendit the keping of the Erles of Montroise and Crafford, vnto my L. Hammiltoun ; and the keping of the crownell Stuart, vnto my L. Maxuell. Thir thre wer in some danger for a whyll, becaufe they wer esteamed to haue tane ouer stark part with the Erle of Arran in his particulaires. The rest of his Maiesteis seruandis wer ouersean and spaired. Sir Robert my brother, and his sone, wer baith courteously vsed. This moderat behauour of the lordis konkist daly mair and mair of his Maiesteis fauour ; pressing his Maieste in nathing bot be the humble intercession of sic as had his Maiesteis ear of before. A parlement was proclaimed at Lithco for ther restitution ; to the quhilk part his Maieste was conuoyed, ther to pass his tyme at hunting, and to recreat his spiritis.

Many noblemen and vthers wer wreten for, to com vnto the said parlement ; among the rest the Erle of Athell, to whom I had bene sent and was with him at the lordis incommyng to Stirling ; wher I was tareing vpon ane answer from his Maieste, quhilk the Erle of Athell had willit me desyre be wret, as faid is.

P. 185. When I cam to kifs his Maiesteis hand, I was glaidly maid welcom ; his Maieste alleging that I wes corbe messenger. I faid, that my absens with the Erle of Atholl had saued all my horse and the toun of Sant Jhonstoun vntane ; and had keptit bak the said Erle from assisting with the rest. Sa that gene they that remanit at Stirling with him, had keptit the south syd afweill and als fre as I keped the north syd, ther horse had bene saif afweill as myn was.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, that God had turnit all for the beſt ; being of before nuriffit in ane oppinion, that his lyf wald be in danger, incaice that thir noblemen mycht be his meſter ; and now having him and all his ſaruandis in ther power, they had vſed na rygour nor reuenge. His hynes remembrit alſo, how oft I had foirwarnit him of this and ſic vther accidentis, that I ſaid wald fall out vpon the Erle of Arrans rafche proceedingis ; and ſaid, that he had bene ane euell inſtrument, ſa that he fuld never haue place nor credit again about him ; willing me to abyd at court, and help to do all gud offices between him and his nobilite, and to tell them the treuth, wha had the wyet of ther trouble, and that he had gret hurt and na vantage therby ; as a prince that ſocht na mans lyf, landis nor geir, bot only the ſatteling of his ſubiectis amang them ſelues, and his paſetym, quhilk certanly I mycht juſtly teſtifie. His Maieſte tald me alſo, that he had ſchawen vnto the noblemen, my honeſt and frendly aduyſes towardis them ; and how that I oponit my ſelf continowally to the Erle of Arrans proceedingis. He willit me alſo to help to ſatiſſie the miniſters, ſeaking alſo to be reſtored vnto ther formair fre aſſembles, quhilkis had bene forbidden in tym of the Erle of Arran.

Sa that I taried a whyll beſyd his Maieſte vntill matters tok ſome ſtedfaſt ſatteling. Dyuers of the lordis alſo requested me to tary and offerit me gret kyndnes ; ſaying that his Maieſte had tald them euery mans part and behauour towardis ther baniſſement and perſecution ; and how I was euer vpon a moderat courſe, and deſyred ane law of obliuion to be maid for all bygains during his minorite. The ſaidis lordis therefore cauſed me propone ſome of ther ſuttis vnto his Maieſte, whom they wald not preſs by his pleaſour in nathing. But the con-

faill was in dyuers oppinions concernyng the reftoring of the minifters to ther formair preueleges ; wher I was brocht in to lay my oppinion. The maift part thocht meit to delay them for a tym, cheifly fic as had remanit about his Maiefte, and had laid ouer far to the contrair of before. My oppinion was, that his Maiefte had na wyet that the noblemen wer baniffit, nor yet that the minifters preueleges wer tane fra them ; bot all tha infolences wer done be fic euell instrumentis as dominit ouer his Maiefteis gud mynd and ear, throw the vehemency of ther ambition ; wha now being fled and abfent, why fuld not the minifters be reftored to ther formair preueleges, afweill as the noblemen to ther landis and honnours, or elis the blame wilbe laid vpon his Maiefte. The fecretair for the tym was againft this oppinion, for he had fome tymes fpoken ouer far in the contraire : bot the reft of the noblemen and confaill thocht my oppinion beft. Bot it was not folowed then, nor granted at that parlement ; bot fchortly efterwart, the minifters obtenit at his Maiefte all ther formair preueleges.

P. 186. It is mentionit alreedy, how that Mefter Almouffer was fent in Denmark ; and fchortly efter him, the crownell Stuart tok occafion to pafs ther for his awen adois ; for he had ane penfion of the K. of Denmark. He obtenit alfo fome wreting, wherby he had matter to fpeak of the Kingis mariage with the K. of Denmarkis eldeft dochter ; and they baith returnit with fa gud and frendly answers, that ther was litle mair mention maid of the reftitution of the ylles of Orkeney. The K. of Denmark was alfo put in hope be them, that his Maiefte fuld fend the nyxt fommer ane honnorable ambaffade in Denmark, to deall farther in tha matters.

I haue schawen alreedy of the dangerous practyfes of the Englis ambassadour Meſter Wotton, and of a part of ther effectis, bot the principall is yet behind. The conſaill of England having concludit to tak the lyf from the Quenis Maieſte, his hynes mother, efter ſche had bene many yeares keped captywe in England, thocht firſt to get the King hir ſone in ther handis ; and to put him in hope that he ſuld get the kingdome of England, the rather that he was within ther contre. In the mean tyme, to be ſure that he ſuld not be able to reuenge his mothers dead, and to be as a plege among them, incaice that his contremen, or his forren and Frenche frendis, wald pretend to menace them, or to mak warre for his liberte or for hir death ; that they mycht boiſt again to cut him off, gif for his cauſe they ſuld be troublit. And however it wer, with tyme it was ſuſpected that they intendit to tak his lyf alſo, efter that they had layed ther platis how till mak him odious to the people, be falſe counterſet lettres, and allegit practyfes, (as they had craftely and diſceatfully allegit vpon his mother,) againſt the eſtate. Bot ſeing this practyſe of his careing in England to haue bene diſcouerit be my brothers intelligence, the ſaid ambassadour fled, as ſaid is ; and for the nyxt beſt, thocht meit to ſe his Maieſte put in the handis of the maiſt part of his nobilitie, wha wer baniſſit for the tyme, and be wicked instrumentis ſa wracked and offendit, that it was enough to haue cauſed them tak his lyf, or elis kepit him in perpetuell priſoun.

Bot the noblemen that had bene baniſſit, and wer ſend hame out of England, for that intention vpon Englands part, vſed them ſelues ſa moderatly and diſcretly for ther part, that they ſocht nathing bot ther awen natyue contre and landis ; that they mycht haue acces to ſerue and obey ther prince, without any farther vengeance or rygour againſt

ther particulair ennemys ; as all ther actions and proceedingis haue sufficiently declaired sen syn, to the gret increase of ther fauour with his Maieste, and estymation of the haille contre. It hes bene fendle fean in any contre, sa many gret alterations to be maid, as hes bene in Scotland laity in this Kingis tym, with sa litle bludschedding.

Now they that wer ennemys to our Quen and Kingis tytles to the ryght of the crown of England, feing some of ther fetches to fail them, entrit in deliberation what way to proceed in the taking of the Quenis lyf. Sometymes they myndit to geue hir ane Italien posselt ;  
 P. 187. sometymes to sleie hir at the hunting in ane park ; bot at lenth, be the way of ane assise, to conuict hir. Wherin they wer weill helpit be the deuyce of Mester Archibald Douglas and some vther Scottifmen, that maid hir intelligence to conkis credit ; sa that writingis and chif-fers past betwen hir and them, and betwen hir and some catholikis of England that fauorit hir. Sa that be tymes lettres wer forgit, and other mens handwretis conterfeit ; wherunto sche making some answers, auent some outgaitis for hir liberte, thir trikis of ther awen deuyces wer interpret agaisnt hir for trefoun. Then hir Maieste had a Frenche secretaire, callit M. Naw, wha was easely corrupted to discouer all hir Maiesteis intelligences and doingis ; wha was richely rewardit be my L. Bourlis moyen, and was na vther wayes tormented to tell the verite.

All thir callomnies and false accusations being presented in wret vnto the Quen of England, hir hart wald not suffer hir, as sche allegit, to let any sentence be geuen fourth agaisnt the Quen, hir dear sister and cufines, sa neir of hir royall blud ; vntill the counsaill, nobillite and eftaitis, at least sic as wer seducit to that effect, sat down vpon ther knees, humbly requesting hir Maieste to haue compassion vpon ther vnfore

estait, albeit sche cared not for hir awen, be the practyfes of the Quen of Scotland. Wherby sche was at lenth moued, for very pitie of them, to geue fourth the sentence of death vpon the Quen, with condition that it suld rather serue to be a fear and terrour vnto hir, to cause hir cease from making any ma practyfes, then that sche wald se the bluid of sa noble a princes to be sched. And in the mean tym the wreten sentence was geuen in keping to Meister Dauissoun, ane of hir secretarys, and not to be delyuerit without hir Maiesteis exprefs command.

Nevertheles the said Dauissoun being deffault be the counsaill, efterwart delyuerit vnto them the said wreten sentence of death. Wherupon they gaif the Quen warnyng, a nycht of before, to prepaire hir for God. Quhilk schort warnyng sche tok very patiently, and lay not down that nycht to sleep, bot wret some lettres vnto the K. hir sonne, the K. of France, and to some vther princes hir frendis. And efter sche had maid hir testament, put the gold that sche had in als many litle purses as sche had seruandis, mair or les in euery purs, conform to ther qualites and deferuyngis. The rest of the nycht sche employed in prayer, and being in the mornyng convoyed out of hir chamber, to the gret hall wher the skaffald was prepared, sche tok hir dead patiently, constantly and curageously ending hir lyf, crewelly handled be the bourreau, with dyuers straikis of the axe. Quhilk execution was the baldlier perfourmed, that some Scottisfmen assured them, that the K. hir sonne wald schone forget it. Albeit, his Maieste when he vnderstode of thir sorowfull newes, tok hauy displeour, and conuenit ane parlement; wherin he lamented the myshandling of the Quen his mother, be his ennemys that wer in England, desyring the assistance of his subiectis, to seek to be reuengit. Wher all the ef-



P. 188. taitis, in a voice, cryed out in a gret rage, to set fordwart, and promysed that they shuld all hazard ther lyues, and spend ther gudis and geir largely to that effect, and to get a mendis of that vnkyndly and vnlawfull mourther. Quhilk pat the counsaill of England in gret fear for a whyll; bot some of our contre men comforted them, and sa did some Englis that hanted our court, alleging it wald be schone forget. Others said that the bluid was alredy fallen from his Maiesteis hart, and gif it wer not, they shuld cause the matter fall out sa to ther contentement.

First when the Kingis Maieste hard, that they wer about till accuse and convict the Quen his mother, he send Sir Robert my brother and the Mester of Gray, to deall for hir Maieste. Wher my said brother spak braue and stout langage to the counsaill of England; sa that the Quen hir self boisted him of his lyf, and efterwart had bene retenit captyue, wer not the credit that his collig had, and the promyses that he had maid, wherby they wer baith sufferit to com hame togither.

A four monethes of before, his Maieste caused wret for me to be send in England, to confirm a band of alliance offensywe and deffensywe with the Quen and Crown of England, and to tak the Quen of Englands aith for obseruyng of the said band, and Mester Randolphe wha was heir alredy, to tak the Kingis aith, and vse the lyk ceremony heir. At my commyng to court, I did what I could to be schifted of the said commission, being a matter of sa gret consequence as ane indirect breking of the band with France. Yet his Maieste wald tak na excuse, bot thocht meit to send me ther, that I mycht get him fur knowlege of findre thingis, quhilk his Maieste supponit another wald not get, be raisoun that all his mothers frendis and his awen that wer in that court and contre, wer best and langeft acquainted with my brether and me.



Bot ſa ſchone as Meſter Randolphe had hard that I was to be ſend in England, he deſyred audience of his Maieſte, and vſed all the perſuaſions he culd to get me ſtayd, and another ſend that mycht be found meter for the tym. Efter that his Maieſte had raiſonit lang with him theranent, he callit vpon me, and tald me how that Meſter Randolphe had ſpoken ſa mekle gud of me, whom he loued better then any Scotis ſubiect for our auld acquaintance ; bot ſaid, that I wald not be acceptable to the Quen his meſtres at this tym, becauſe Sir Robert my brother had bene alwais, and was yet vtterly vpon hir faction ; and alſo that my brother Sir Andro of Garvok, was for the tym in England hir Maieſteis maiſter houſhald. His Maieſte ſaid, he replyd again that I was never eſteamed a factioner, and wald not yeild at the firſt ; bot I requested his Maieſte to grant him his deſyre as then ; for I had na will of that commiſſion, knawing that ther was nathing merit bot fraudfull dealing be England with him at that tym. “ It is for that cauſe,” ſaid he, “ that I wald haue you ther.” “ And it is for that cauſe, ſir,” ſaid I, “ that I wald fayn eſchew the ſame, with your hynes fauour.” His Maieſte ſaid, that he maruelit that Randolphe ſuld ſeem to lyk ſa weill of me, and yet deſyre another to be ſend. I ſchew his Maieſte again, how that in France and in Italy we lyked other very weill ; bot in the handling of his Maieſteis affaires, we ſchot at findre markis. His Maieſte wald ſtill haue me to tak that commiſſion, and aſkit whom I beleuit that Meſter Randolphe wald wiſ to be ſend. I anſwerit, other the Meſter of Gray, or elis Meſter Archebald Douglas. For the Meſter of Gray had maid moyen for Meſter Archebald, and had brocht him hame out of England, and had ſemond ane aſſiſe of his awen frendis, to cleange him of the lait Kingis mourther ; and being cleangit, he hanted in court famylierly with his Maieſte.

It was he indeid that Meſter Randolphe deſyred to be ſend, or the Meſter of Gray, or baith in a commiſſion ; bot his Maieſte wald not conſent therto. Then the lard of Cowdownknowes, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, deſyred the commiſſion. Bot Meſter Randolphe wald haue nane other ; cauſing the Quen his meſtreſs wret bak, that it was not neidfull to ſend any ambaſſadour for that errand at that tym ; only that the K. wald wret with his awen hand, that ane ſuld be ſend when ſche thocht tym, aſſuring be his ſaid lettre, that it was in effect alreidy concludit in his mynd, as gene the ceremonie wer perſourmed. Quhilk lettre was ſend to the Engliſh ambaſſadour, that was reſident in France for the tym, to be producit before the K. of France and Quen Mother, to let them knaw, that albeit the K. of Scotland was futen hir Maieſte for ane alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe, quhilk wald be a novation and a breking of the auld band with France, yet ſche wald not put them in ſuſpition and gelouſie of hir, in conſenting therto, as caring litle for the Scotis Kingis ſickill frendſchip or fead, ſa lang as France and ſche kepit ther paice and frendſchip together. Quhilk was done only to diſgrace and diſcredit the K. with the K. of France ; ſa that ther procedit na mair fruitis of the ſaid intendit band, and I glaid to tary at hame. Lykwais when the bruit was of the Spaniſh navy, in the 1587, to com in thir partis, I was ordonit to be ſent in Spain ; quhilk voyage I happely alſo eſchewed.

Now to retourn again to Meſter Archebald Douglas. He retournit bak to England to remain ambaſſadour ther for his Maieſte ; be the quhilk meanis he obtenit the greter credit with the Quen his Maieſteis mother. Bot my brother Sir Robert, when he was ſend ther to procure, and to uſe ſchairp and boiſting langage, to ſe gif that mycht ſaiſ

the Quenis lyf, he difchargit Meſter Archebald of the office of ambafadour. This is a parentefis be the way, to ſchaw how far a gud K. hes bene abuſed, and led be myngnons that he lyked weall of, to his Maieſteis gret hurt and diſhonour.

P. 190. In this mean tym, for ſome diſordour vpon the weſt borders between the Maxuelis and Jhonſtons, his Maieſte paſt ther to refourm ther diſobedience. Bot ſome houſes wer kept, and wald not rendre vnto his Maieſte. Wherupon Meſter Jhon Maitland being maid chancellor, the Meſter of Gray and vthers fauourers of the Engliſh faction, confellit his Maieſte to ſend to Berwick, becauſe it was allegit to be nereſt, to borrow canons to beſeige the ſaid houſis. Quhilk gons wer glaidly lent be the governour of Berwick ; quhilk apperantly he durſt not haue done without knowlege and conſent of the Quen and conſaill, wha thoct therby that his Maieſte had forget the gret boiſt that was maid at the foirnamed parlement, anent the reuenge of his mothers dead. For his Maieſte, efter he had rypely conſiderit the beſt and worſt of that dede, remembrit him ſelf of the many frendis he had in England, wha had na wyet of his mothers wrak ; and for a few number that gydit the court and Quen, he wald not trouble the eſtate of the haill contre, wherof he was apperant ayre. And alſo becauſe the Quen was of gud yeares, not able to lyue ouer lang, he wald abyd his tym to be reuengit vpon his ennemys. As for the Quen his gud ſiſter, ſche had ſworn and purgit hir ſelf of the death of his mother ; being diſceaued be hir conſaill, and be the ſecretary Dauiffoun, whom ſche committed to be wardit in the tour of Londown. This was the convoy of that vnkouth, vnkyndly mourther.

Shortly efter this, ther was a gret bruit of the Spaniſh navy, boun

to land in England, Scotland, or Yreland. And then also wer entred about his Maieſte a new faction, wherof the Erle of Huntly was cheif-  
feſt, wha had laityly married the Duc of Lenox ſiſter. This new faction  
aſpyring be litle and litle to ſhut out the Meſter of Gray, the chan-  
celer and vthers that aſſiſted with them, and to retean part of them  
that wer in court of before ; wher ther wer dyuers conſpyracies to ſley  
the chanceler, and ſic as had aſſiſted him to be remoued. And becauſe  
they ſtak ouer lang be the court, therles Huntly, Bodowell, with ſome  
vthers, thocht to haue tane the King and kept him. Albeit tua of  
ther enterpryſes failed, yet they wald haue bene nereſt about his Ma-  
ieſte at the incommyng of the Spaniaris ; and in the mean tym wer  
myndit to cauſe his Maieſte fend Sir Jhon Seatoun in Spain. Bot his  
Maieſte wald haue nane to be fend bot me ; wherupon the chanceler  
and my brother Sir Robert wret vnto me, willing me not to reſuſe,  
becauſe they ſaid his Maieſte wald haue ane ther of his awen religion,  
and that wald not be corrupted, on whom he wald repoſe. Yet his  
Maieſte had na will to deall with Spain, and I had aſlitle deſyre to  
mak the voyage. Albeit, Sir George Douglas ſuttet the ſaid commiſ-  
ſion, as ane that had aſſiſted his Maieſteis mother ; yet it tok na effect.  
The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice  
of Domfermeling, quhilk was tane fra the Meſter of Gray laityly de-  
coured, and geuen to him.

- P. 191. How that the Spaniſh gret navy wer thre yeares in making ther  
preparation, and wer ſufficiently and ſubſtancially furniſſit with men,  
munition and all kynd of neceſſaires, is now manifeſt to all Europe.  
What was ther intent and purpoſ was ſa ſecret, that the chiftans of  
the army knew na mair bot as they ſuld vnderſtand be the oppenyng

of ther stamped instructions at euery apponted landing place. Many ar of oppinion, that they wer first disaponted be the Duc of Parma, gouernour of Flanders ; wha had behaued him felf in his charge fa circumspecky, in his promyses fa trewly, in his enterpryses fa stoutly, that he wan the hartis of his soldiours, and the fauour of his ennyes, that he was suspected to vsurp the estait of Flanders be the K. of Spaine, and therefore was myndit to remoue him out of that gret and riche gouvernement. He being miscontent, as was allegit, nother fournisht the said army vittualis, nor assisted them with schippis and men nor sufferit them to land in his boundis. At least they tok fa gret suspition of him, that they landed not ; bot wer lyen at ancre, when Mester Draikis be a strategeme subtilly denyfed of a schip full of poudre with a bournyng lont, quhilk kendlit vp the poudre fa schone as the English schip was dryuen be a direct vehement wynd within the midis of the part wher the Spanish schippis lay ; bournyng therby dyuers of ther gret schips, and causing the rest to cut the cordis of ther ancrs, for haist to elchew the fury of the fyre. Wher in the mean tym God fend sic a strange storm of wynd, that the haill navy wer blawen and broken vpon dyuers coistis of our ylls, and of Yreland, and ther wrak was the greter that they wanted ther anckres.

It is specified of before, how that Mester Peter Yong, mester almofer to his Maieste, and the crownell Stuart, wer retournit from Denmark, weill rewardit and contented with euery thing that they had fean, and cheifly with the fair yong princeffis ; and also how they had put the K. of Denmark in hope, that the Kingis Maieste our maister fuld in the nyxt somer fend ther ane honnorable ambassade, to deall farther to the increase of a greter societie and amytie. And for this effect, the

Bifchop of Santandrous, the Lard of Segy and I wer named to be fend ; bot I was reterit and had na will to medle, feing his Maiefteis affaires fa henderit be fic as had greteft handling about him. Therfore the chanceler deuifed the Lard of Barnbarrow and Mefter Peter to be employed in that turn, with vncertane and vnrefolut instructions ; alwayes to propon mariage, and with dyuers faire allegeances anent his Maiefteis fufficient richt to the ylles of Orkeney ; quhilkis the K. of Denmark was myndit to fut mair fchairply, wer not the hope he was put in, of the apperant mariage of the Kingis Maiefte with his eldeft dochter.

Thir ambaffadours wer not weill imbarakit, when Mons<sup>r</sup> du Bartas arriuit heir to vefit the Kingis Maiefte, who, he hard, had him in gret efteam, for his rare poefies fet out in the Frenche tong. He wald not fay that he had a fecret commiffion, to propone the Princes of Navarre to be maried with his Maiefte ; bot that the King of Navars fecretary willit him, (feing he was to com this way), as of his awen head to propone the faid mariage. Mons<sup>r</sup> du Bartas qualites wer fa gud, and his credit fa gret with his Maiefte, that it apperit gif the ambaffadouris had not alredy maid faill, that ther voyage fuld haue bene ftayed for that feafoun. The chanceler affured Mons<sup>r</sup> du Bartas, as he fchew me, that the mariage of Denmark fuld not tak effect ; for our ambaffadours had indeid fic ftrait injunctions, and fa slender a commiffion, that it was enough to haue caufed the King of Denmark to ftart and to quarell our K., wer not that they delt at ouer ther commiffion, quhilk kepit that K. in fome temper. Albeit they retournit without fruit, full of displeafour, thinking them felues fcornit, as they wer indeed.

In the mean tym that they wer in Denmark, Mons<sup>r</sup> du Bartas being



in Faeland with his Maieſte, cam to my houſe to perſwad me to tak a commiſſion in hand, quhilk he ſaid his Maieſte wald lay to my charge ; quhilk was, to be ſend vnto the K. of Navarre, and to be acquainted with Madame the princeſs his ſiſter. And becauſe his Maieſte knew that I wald be laith to gang, he named alſo my L. of Tungland my brother ; wha tok the voyage in hand, and maid gud acquaintance with the ſaid princeſs, and was weill traited and rewardit be the K. hir brother, now King of France, and brocht with him the picture of the princeſs, with a gud report of hir rare qualites.

The Lard of Barnbarrow and Meſter Peter Yong being retournit bak from Denmark, declaired how that the K. of Denmark thocht na-thing of ther commiſſion bot fecles dealing, and dryuyng of tym, and faire langage without any power to conclud. I am incertane whither he gat intelligence of his Maieſte ſending my brother to the King of Navar ; bot the marieing of his eldeſt dochter ſa ſchortly eſter with the Duc of Brinſſwik, geues ſome apperance that he had gottin ſome intelligence therof from the court of England, wha wer weill enough infourmed of all our proceedingis.

Efter this, the crownell Stuart being willing to ſe the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter tak effect, paſt ther vpon his awen charges dyuers tymes ; and ſeing the eldeſt dochter alredy married, he excuſed the K. Maieſte, and layed the blame vpon them that had the handling of his affaires. Sa that the K. of Denmark promyſed yet to geue his ſecond dochter vnto the K., with condition that ambaffadours ſuld be ſend ther the nyxt year before the firſt day of May. In the mean tym, the K. of Denmark tok ſeaknes and departed this lyf, leaving the ſame commiſſion with his conſaill, and ſic as wer appointed for regentis of the realm.



Now the Kingis Maieſteis mariage being futed of findre gret princes, and his ambaffadours being com bak, baith out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the yong princeſſes, his Maieſte determinit firſt to ſeak conſaill at God, be his erneſt prayer, to addreſs him wher it wald be meteſt, and the weall of him ſelf and his contre. Sa that efter fyften dayes aduſement and deuot prayer, as ſaid is, he callit his conſaill together in his cabinet, and tald them how that he had bene aduſen and praying vnto God, the ſpace of fyften dayes, to moue his hart the way that was meteſt, and that he was reſoluit to mary in Denmark. The conſaill apperit all to be content of his reſolution, requyring meat inſtrumentis to be employed to conclud the mariage and to mak the contract. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he had alredy choſen me in his mynd for ane, willing the conſaill to name another ; quhilk they did, to wit my L. of Attry, the Erle Marchallis oncle.

We twa being wreten for and com to court, fand not ſic erneſtnes with the conſaill as with the King ; quhilk my L. of Attry perſaving, drew hame again, excuſing him ſelf vpon his age and ſeaklynes. His Maieſte vſed many perſuaſions and raifouns to cauſe me tak the voyage in hand ; declairing how that he had many tymes ſend for me to be employed in ambaffaddis, and culd not tell what was the cauſe that I went not. I anſwerit, that his Maieſte wald haue done me that honour abone my deſeruynge, quhilk he wald not haue done gif he had knawen my vnablenes and inſufficiency, afweill as I did my ſelf. His Maieſte ſaid, that this his mariage was the greteſt matter that euer he had ado, and culd tak na reſuſe. I ſaid that my Lord of Tungland my brother was far meiter nor my ſelf, being a gud ſcollair, and culd perſtylt ſpeak the Latin, hy Dutche, the Flemyn and the Frence tong.

Bot his Maieſte wald repoife ſtill vpon me in that erand, bot was content that my ſaid brother ſuld paſs in commiſſion with me.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, “ albeit the conſaill will form your inſtructions, ye ſhall reſaue myn out of my awen mouth. Thre headis in ſpeciall. The firſt, gif the K. of Denmark had, at the pleaſour of God, bene alywe vntill this tym, he wald not haue ſtand to geue a gret tocher with his dochter, wherein the regentis and conſaill wilbe als ſpairing as they can. I dout not therefore bot ye will draw out of them ſamekle as may be had ; bot at lenth, ſtand not for ſiluer to paſs fordwart with the conſclusion of the mariage. The ſecond head is, to know what frendſhip and aſſiſtance they will mak me, when it may pleaſe God to place me be richt in the kingdome of England, be diſceſe of this Quen, incaice any contre men or vthers wald wrangeouſly pretend till vſurp and debar me fra the ſame. Thridly, concernyng the ylles of Orkeney, ye mon chuſe any man of law that ye pleaſe ; for that head mon be anſwerit and delaited be form of law. Alwais, gif the mariage tak effect, that purpoſ will not be ouer preciſly ſuttet nor handled. It may be that my conſaill will geue yow ſtraiter conditions, bot this inſtruction of myn ye ſhall folow fourth, let them ſay what they pleaſe.” When I ſchew his Maieſte that I wald tak with me, for man of law, Meſter Jhon Skein, his Maieſte thoct then that ther wer many better lawyers. I ſaid, that he was beſt acquainted with the conditions of the Germanes, and culd mak them lang harrangues in Latin, and was a gud trew ſtout man, lyk a Dutche man. Then his Maieſte was content that he ſuld ga ther with me.

P. 194. Efter this I taried lang at court, and culd ſe na preparation for our diſpaſche, nother ther ſiluer nor ſchip maid redy ; and the apponted tym

that we shuld haue bene in Denmark was past, to wit before the first day of May. For it was ordonit sa be the K. of Denmark or he died, that incaice that day was not kepit, that they wald think them selues bot skouffit. Quhilk moued me the mair to employ my frendis in court to cause another be named in my place, seing sa many futting for to get the said commission. The chanceler gaif me sic terrous as he culd for his part. Now the Erle Marchall had desyred to supple the place of his oncle my L. of Attry, and his Maieste was content that he shuld be send ther. Wherupon I tok occasion to say vnto his Maieste, that the said erle was very meit, and wald ga the better contented, gif he mycht haue in commission with him some of his awen frendis and acquaintance. His Maiesteis answer was, that it was his part to cheise his awen ambassadouris, and that the Erle Marchall shuld haue the first plaice as a nobleman, bot that he wald repoise the cheif handling with the regentis and confaill of Denmark vpon me. Then I declaired how that the apponted tym was past, and that ther was na apperance of any preparation of schip or siluer; wherat his Maieste was very angry. And when I named the lard of Barnbarrow, or Mester Peter Yong, wha had bene ther before, his Maieste wald not; for the blame and wyet was wrangeously laid vpon ther vn sufficiency and mishandling, that matters tok not the desyred succeß of before.

Wald not this kynd of court handling skar any man to be a medler in sic weichty matters, wher sic men ar preferrit, and the haill bourding of the princes affaires committed to ther cair and credit? Wha confellit his Maieste to send first to the Quen of England, and requyre hir consent and aduys to the said mariage with Denmark; wha they knew wald not only disswad his Maieste from the said mariage, bot

also stay him fra any mariage, as sche and hir confaill had euer done and delt, baith with his mother and him self. When I vnderstod of this new delay, I obteanit liscence to pafs hame to my houe, and mak me redy vpon the nyxt warnyng. In the mean tym, the seasoun of the year was weall spent. The Quen of Englandis answer was, not to mary in Denmark. Sche had credit with K. and princes of Navarre, quhilk wald be far better. In the mean tym, sche wret to the K. of Navarre to hald bak the mariage of his sifter for thre yeares, for sic friuoll respectis as caried na raifoun.

Vpon this answer of England, our confaill wer convenit, and praitit and intyfed to vot, as the maist part of them did, against the mariage of Denmark. Wherat his Maieste tok sic a dilpyt, as that he caused one of his maist famylier seruandis deall secretly with some of the deakens of the craftismen of Edenbrough, to mak a maner of a mutinerie against the chanceler and confaill; boisting to slay the said chanceler, incaice the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter wer hendrit or any langer delayed. This boisting and fear caused a new resolution to be tane, that the Erle Marchall fuld be dispasshed with deligence, and the constable of Dunde and my L. Andrew Keith, whom the said erle  
 P. 195. requested his Maieste to send with him. Quhilk his Maieste granted the mair easely, because he fand sa many difficultes in this matter, and some of my frendis had schawen vnto him, that I wald not be discontent that he sent with the said erle sic as he desyred.

Now it wes yet a lang tym, before the Erle Marchall culd be maid redy and dispasshed. Then at his dealing with the confaill of Denmark, his power to conclud wes sa limitat, and his commissioun sa skender, that he wes compellit to send bak again my Lord Dingwall, other

for a liscence to com hame, or for a sufficient power to conclud. Wher it chancit that he fand his Maieste at Aberdene, and the chanceler and maist part of the counsaill absent ; quhilk was a gret furtherance to get a full power, to conclud the contract and ceremonie of the mariage be the Erle Marchall ; wha was incontinent dispaſched be the regentis and counsaill of Denmark, and the Quen send hame with him weill accompanied. Bot the tempesteous wyndis drawe them vpon the coist of Nouroway, wher they landit and stayed a lang tym vpon fair wind and wether. Quhilk storm of wind was allegit to haue bene raised be the witches of Denmark, be the confession of findre of them, when they wer brunt for that cause. It that moued them, they said, was a kuff or a blaw quhilk the admyrall of Denmark gaue to ane of the bailgeis of Copenhoun ; whais wyf consulting with hir associatis in that art, raised the said storm, to be reuengit vpon the said admyrall.

His Maieste had hard that they wer vpon the see, and left nathing ondone to mak all in a redines to resäue the Quen and hir company honorably ; bot in the mean tym, was very impatient and forowfull for hir lang delay, laying the blame vpon the chanceler, and sic others of his counsaill as had planly voted against the said mariage, and had delayed the dispaſche of the ambassadouris sa lang, vntill the seasoun of sealling vpon tha fees was neir past. The stormes wer also sa gret heir, that ane boit perissit between Brunteland and Leith, wherin was a gentilwoman callit Jene Kenete, wha had bene lang in England with the Quen his Maiesteis mothe and was sen syn married vpon my brother the maister houshold to hir Maieste, Sir Andro Meluille of Garvok. Quhilk gentilwoman being discret and graue, was sent for be his Maieste, to be about the Quen his bedfallow. Sche being willing to mak

deligence, wald not stay, for the storm, to fail the ferry ; wher the vehement storm draue a schip forceably vpon the said boit, and drownit the gentilwoman and all the perfonnes except twa. This the Scotis witches confellit vnto his Maieste to haue done. Wher I tint also tua faruandis.

Now his Maieste remanit quyetly in the castell of Craigmyllair, not content with the maist part of his confaill, as said is, and culd not sleip nor rest. In the mean tym, he directed the crownell Stuart to my brother Sir Robert and me, charging us to tak cair of his mishandled estait in tym commyng ; lamenting how that he was abused be sic as he had ouer mekle repofed vpon, and that he had alwayes found us faithfull and cairfull for his wealfaire ; willing us to sit down, and aduysle how he mycht best put remedy to thingis past, and eschew sic inconuenientis in tymes commyng ; for he was determinit heirefter to repoise maist vpon our confaill.

P. 196.

Our answer vnto his Maieste was, that we had gret cause till render his Maieste maist humble thankis for the gud oppinion that he had of us, quhilk we suld tak panes at our power till deferue ; and wer very fory for the displefour that his hyenes had tane ; preing his Maieste that he wald tak patience, and as that he had alwayes repofed vpon his God, and not vpon men, that the same God wald mend his estait, as he had oft tymes done before. Presently our only cair suld be, how to resauue honorably the Quen, wha was vpon the sea, we daly loking for hir landing ; and nyxt, how to trait and reward the noblemen of Denmark, hir hynes convoy. That being done and they returnit bak to ther contre, it wald be best tym to tak ordour with the affaires of the kingdome, conform to his Maiesteis defyre, with the concurrence



of ſa many of the conſaill as his Maieſte had found maiſt faithfull and leaſt factious.

Bot to tak vpon us the haill bourthen, we thoct it not beſt ; in reſpect that has bene alwayes the cheif cauſe of the wrak of Scotis kingis, ſpecially of all his troubles, in laying the haill bourthen of his affaires vpon any ane or twa ; wha maiſt commownly, for gredines and ambition, abuſes gud princes ; then few or nane dar controill them, for fear of ther gret autorite and credit.

The chanceler being advertiſt of his Maieſteis miſcontentement and diſpleſour, as ſaid is, maid his preparatywe till part off the contre ; and cauſed it to com vnto his Maieſteis eares, that he ſuld faill and bring the Quen with him ; and that they wer all bot ſnaffelers that was with hir. And forget not till anoint the handis of ſome that wer famylier with his Maieſte, to interpret this his enterpryſe ſa weill, that it pat all vther byganes in forgetfulnes. And be litle and litle to infourm his Maieſte ſa weall of the ſaid voyage, and of the gret charges that he maid vpon a faire and ſwyft failing ſchip, that his Maieſte was moued to tak the voyage him ſelf, and to faill in the ſame ſchip with the chancelair, with gret ſecreſie and ſhort preparation ; making na man preuy therto bot ſa many as the chanceler pleaſit, and ſic as had bene vpon his faction of before. He had alſo hard a nynckling of a word, how that his Maieſte, in the tym of his hauy diſpleſour, had ſend vnto my brother and me to tak the bourden of his affaires ; wherat he had a gret hid invy and diſpyt, and was the cauſe why his Maieſte maid me not preuy to his voyage in Denmark ; and was very miſcontent when his Maieſte had appoynted my brother Sir Robert to be left vicechanceler, to conuene the conſaill in his Maieſteis abſens, to hald hand with



the Duc of Lenox, my Lordis Hammiltoun, Bodowell, and vther noblemen, with the officers of the crown, to reull the contre in his Maieſteis abſence.

Thre vther ſchippis failed with his Maieſte, wherin was the Juſtice Clark, Carmychell, the proueft of Linclowden, Willyem Keith, George Hum, James Sandelandis, and his meſter almowſer, with all his hynes ordinary ſeruandis. The wether was rough aneugh, for it was in the beginning of wynter ; bot the laſt day was ſa extream ſtormy that they wer all in gret danger. Bot his Maieſte landit that ſame nycht at

in Noroway, wher the Quen was abyding the wynd ; and wher he accompliſſit his mariage in perſone, bot culd not be perſuadit to retourn in Scotland that winter, be raifoun of the raging fees and ſtorme that he had ſuſteanit a litle of before.

The Quen and conſaill of Denmark, being aduertit that his Maieſte was to abyd all that winter at , ſend and requested him to com to Denmark. Wher he paſt be land, with the Quen his new bryd ; and behaued him ſelf honorably and liberally be the way, and at the court of Denmark, ſa lang as he tareid ther.

P. 197. Bot the company that wer with his Maieſte held him in gret faſcherie, to agre ther continuall ſtryf, pryd and partialites. The Erle Mar-  
chall, be raifoun that he was ane ancien erle, and had bene employed in that honorable commiſſion, thocht to haue the firſt place nyxt vnto his Maieſte, ſa lang as he was ther. The chancelair, be raifoun of his office, wald nedis haue the preeminence ; lykwayes between the conſtable of Dunde, and my L. Dinguall, for the firſt place ; between the chancelar and the Juſtice Clark. Bot George Hum ſchot out quyetly Willyem Keith, fra his office of maſter of the garderob. At lenth the hail

wair deuydit into twa factions ; the ane for the Erle Marchall, and thother for the chanceler, wha was the starker, becaufe the King tok his part. Sa that the chancelair tryumphed, and deuyfed, being yet in Denmark, many refourmations to be maid, and new fourmes and fassions to be fet fordwart at his Maiesteis hamecommynng ; as to haue na preuy confaill bot the chekker, and the nobilite to be debarrit therfra ; and findre of the lordis of fesslon to be put out, and others plaicit in ther rowmes. And caufed pen ane proclamation, quhilk was fend hame to be proclaimed before his Maiesteis retournyng, that nane of the nobilite fuld com to court on being sent for, and then to bring with them sex perfonas and na ma ; lykwais euery barron to bring bot four. And also was myndit that na knychtis fuld be maid at the Quenis coronation, bot sic as wer of worthy estymation, be honorable beha-uour other in the warres, or that had bene employed ambaffadours to-wardis vther princes. Lykwais it was deuyfed, to put in ward sic as had bene vnreuly and inobedient during his Maiestes absence ; as the Erle Bodowell, the lord Hum, and dyuers borderers and hyland men.

The nyxt spring, as said is, ther Maiesteis cam hame and landit at Leith, weill accompanied ; with the admyrell of Denmark and dyuers of the confaill, and many other gentilmen, wha all his Maiefte traited honnorable ; and efter the coronation of the Quen, rewardit them princely, with ma then tuelf golden cheigneis, and many medallis of gold with his Maiesteis picture.

His Maieste, at his landing, had fend for me to bear them company ; quhilk I did vntill ther parting, to his hynes contentement. In the mean tyme, the Erle of Worcester was fend heir ambaffadour from England, to welcom and congratulat baith ther Maiesteis, with some presentis vnto the Quenis Maieste. Whom his Maieste commandit me

to enterdeny all the tym of his heir being ; and at his parting, presented him with a riche ring of feuen gret dyamontis, that he parted weill satisfied, and so did all his company.

It pleased his Maieste, at leafer, to declair vnto me his hail voyage, and proceedingis during his absence ; and said that he wald that I had bene sent myn allane ambassadour in Denmark, in steid of the Erle Marchall and the tua that wer junit with him, he was so euell informed of the said erle. I said, that I vnderstode that the Erle Marchall, for his awen part, had behaued him self very honnorablely and discretely, as the admyrall of Denmark, Stean Braue, and dyuers of ther company had informed me. Alwais, his Maieste beleued the contrary for the tym, and said farther vnto me, that he had greter fischerie to kepe gud reull and ordour among the few company that wer with him in Denmark, then had my brother Sir Robert to reull and kepe quyetnes in all Scotland during his absence. Quhilk prayse my brother deserued indede ; for he had sic fauour and credit with the nobilitie and barrons and bourrowes, that they folowed his aduise, and beleued that he wald not say bot the trewth in his Maiesteis name ; and again, that he wald not hyd ther quyet behauour from his Maieste at his hamecommynge.

P. 198. Bot the chanceler invyed my brother for the gret oppinion that his Maieste had of him, notwithstanding that he was a speciall instrument to bring the chanceler in court with his Maieste, first when his hynes past to his liberte at Santandrowes, and efterwart to get him the office to kepe the gret seall, and syn to be chanceler in effect. The chanceler remembrit also of his Maiesteis deliberation, before his passing to Denmark, when he was miscontent with the chanceler, what derrection he send be the crownell Stuart to my brother and me. Quhilk the chan-

celler now went about to preuent, and tok occasion to callomniat my brother in his absēce, because my brother was sent for to vefit his wyf, lying in Brunteland at the point of death, in the mean tym that ther was ado with his office, to fournice some litle necessaires for the strangers. The chanceler tald his Maieſte, that he vsed euery Sater-day ſa to do, during his Maieſteis absēce, and taried ther thre or four dayes, neglecting that way the commown affaires of the contre ; and that it was the clark of the register, Sanders Hay, that had done all the gud offices quhilkis wer allegit that Sir Robert had done ; and kendled ſa vp the Kingis anger againſt Sir Robert, that he boiſted till ward him, and tak his office fra him, ſex dayes efter that ſa gret rufe was maid of his ſecfull ſeruiſe. Sa euell handled ar oft tymes gud princes and trew ſaruandis, be crafty callomnies. Bot his Maieſte repented ſchone this ſodane anger, being richtly infourmed, and converted the ſame againſt the ſaid chanceler vpon a nother occaſion.

Ther was emulation between the conſaill and the chamber ; the conſaill complenyng, that the chamber wer the deuyfers of euery wrang that was done, be cauſing his Maieſte ſubſcrywe ſindre hurtfull ſignatours and commiſſions ; and gat paſt for them ſelues and ther frendis, the beſt and maiſt profitable caſualites. They again wald other haue had the maiſt part of the conſaill at ther deuotion, or elis chengit and others mair frendly for them placit in ther rowmes. Wherupon the conſaill conſulted, and concludit together to caſt the chamber ; yet ane of the conſaill that had ſome gret turn to be ſped, diſcouerit the enterpryſe of the reſt to the chamber ; wha having greteſt credit with his Maieſte, pat the chanceler ſchone out of conceat. Sa that at his firſt commyng to ſpeak with his Maieſte, he rebuted him very ſourly ; and

leaving him, tok me be the hand, faying, “ I am the worſt handled prince in the warld, as I fall ſchaw yow the morn ; for now when I go to bed, I haue na will to enter vpon ſa melancolyk purpoſes ſa lait. Therfor fend for your brother, and at his commyng, I fall declair vnto yow baith mair of my mynd. I can not forget a faying of yours, that it is the greteſt wyell in the warld to be trew.” At my brothers commyng, we fand that the only cauſe was, that the chanceler and ſome with him wald haue wraked his Maieſteis treweſt myngnons ; quhilk my brother tok vp between them incontinent, to his Maieſteis gret contentement ; and the haill blame was layed vpon him that had oppenit vp the matter to the chamber.

- P. 199. Efter the coronation of the Quenis Maieſte, and banketting and rewarding of the ſtrangers, they retournit hame weall contented. Ther was another convention apponted, for taking ordour with the affaires of the contre, to the quhilk many noblemen and barrons wer wreten for ; bot very few obeyed the ſaid wretings, or wald com neir the court, becauſe when they wer firſt wreten for to the Quenis coronation, they thocht not them ſelues weill vſed. For hall, chamber, and all durris wer ſa ſtraitly and indiſcretly keped, that they culd get na entre ; therfor many of them returnit malcontent to ther houſes. Nor na man was appointed to welcom them, and to direct them, except ſa many as wer maid knychtis ; quhilk was the cauſe that ſa few cam again to court, the nyxt tym that they wer wreten for. For they that had bene laity in Denmark with his Maieſte, thocht to retean him and the haill gouvernement in ther handis, and had geuen his Maieſte conſaill, not to be ouer famylier nor of ouer eaſy acces ; nane till enter in his chamber, bot ſamany as wer gentilmen of his chamber, with the chanceler and

some of the confail ; and wer not content to haue the only acces, and haill handling at all other tymes, bot euen also at thir conventions, they occupied continually his Maiesteis ear in presens of the haill assemble, to let ther gret credit be seane, to be fittet and buddit be sic as had to do with the prince. Nane of them all had mair occasions to occupy his Maiesteis ear, then I had at that tym. Yet when it wald please his Maieste to call vpon me, to know how euery stranger was traited and contented, I wald geue his Maieste a schort answer, and with a gret reuerence reteir and draw a syd. Quhilk was persauit be some of the nobillite and barrons, that wer com to the said convention. In the quhilk, findre necessary reformationes wer intendit, bot nathing perfourmed ; quhilk was the mair spoken of, because euery man hoped to se a sattelit estait at his Maiesteis hamcommyng ; and with the greter assurance, be raisoun of his Maiesteis promyse, maid publicly in the hye kirk of Edenbrough, to be a new man, and till tak vp another kynd of cair and doing in his awen persone, then had bene seane vsed of before. Quhilk certanly his Maieste was very willing to put in execution, bot, alaise, he lakit help and assistance. For sic as he reposed maist vpon, had na farther cair of his affaires nor as they mycht best serue to ther awen particulier proffit and aduancement to sic ambitious markis as they schot at ; making his Maieste in the mean tym beleue that all was weall rewled, and ordorit at wisfis. The contrary being to manifest, moued me to present vnto his Maieste, at dyuers tymes, some memorialis and informations anent his estait and gouernement. The maist part wherof I had set down in wret, efter that the crownell Stuart had brocht commission from his Maieste vnto my brother Sir Robert and me, before his hynes failing to bring hame the Quen.



during the tym that he was dolorous in Craigmillair, and miscontent with the chancelair, and sic of his confaill as had bene henderers of his mariage ; and had willit my faid brother and me to fit down and aduyfe vpon some gud reules, for the establisshing of gud ordour in his contre.

P. 200. “ Sir, your hyenes happy hamecommynge has gretly reioiced your haill subiectis. Your expectation has bene gret euer sen your birth, baith far and neir. Your publik promyse, to tak vpon you a mair kingly cair sen your retournynge, throw greter experience, hes augmented ther gud hope of a gracious gouernement. Your religion, pure and clean, your zeall to godlynes and iustice, your chaift and sincere lyf, your promptitud to suppress rebellions when they aryse, ravisses the hartis of the maist part of your subiectis, to loue you and esteame you the best King that hes bene thir many yeares in this realm. And yet they all maruell with stupifak myndis, to se your affaires sa vnkannely handled ; complenynge hauely that your contre was never in greter difordour and distres, the kirk sa euell content, your housse sa euell at point, the nobilite sa deuydit, the barrons in greter pouertie, and the commons mair opprest, nor never ma taxations raised, to the vtillite rathest of priuat personnes, ma parlamentis halden, monyer lawes casten lowis and broken, your proclamations and missyues less obeid, and mourther and bludshedding mair increffit, sen your hynes hamecommynge and publik promyse, then it was during your absens.

“ Therefore, sir, as in ane parrelous storm vpon the see, or till stanche fodane tane fyre vpon the land, euery mans help is requisite and acceptable ; sa I hope your hyenes clemency will confidder and geue gentill



audience, and your prudency will tak in gud part, this my dewtifull declairation and admonition ; the baldlyer enterpryfed, vnder the warrant of your fauorable allowance ; folowing your famylyer commandement, before your hynes passing till Denmark, that my brother and I fuld fet down the caufes of the euellis and diforders that hes bene and is, together with the metest remedies for the refourmyng and amending of the misfreull.

“ Ther be thre cheif caufes of all thir euellis and difordours.

“ The first, concernyng Godis seruice.

“ The second, concernyng your awen estait, and prouision of your house.

“ The thrid, concernyng the policy and commown weill of your contre.

“ As tuiching the seruice of God, neglected be our finnes and cairlesnes in the setting fourth of his glory, fuld be redressit and amendit be humble repentance, amendement of lyf and gud exemple, first in your awen persoun, vpon the quhilk euery mans ey is fixit, as the head to reull the rest of the members, with religion, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitud. Cheifly be religion and justice haue all the best commown wealis bene rewled. Sa that sic contrees as wanted the knowlege of trew religion, feing the gret workis that God brocht till pass be his awen peculier people obseruyng his religion, they invented religions, trowing to imitat the Jews, fell in ydolatrie and superstition. Yet they straitly obserued ther said invented religion, and caused puniſh with death sic as dispyfed or spak against the same.

P. 201. “ Far mair fuld your Maieste be cairfull to fet fordwart the trew religion, and to se the same reuerencit and obseruit ; and for that ef-

fect, fuld denot and difcret minifters be chofen, whais chriſtien lyues may preach afweill as ther doctrine ; and ſic to be prouydit with fufficient locald ſtipendis, nother ouer mekle, till entyſe them till auarice, nor ouer litle, till mak them ſa indigent as till cry out in all ther preachingis of ther pouertie ; in ſic ſort as they may haue na occaſion yearly to leaue ther flock, to com and mak fut for ther lyving, with gret pain and expenſis, as they do preſently.

“ Dyuers ar the cauſes of the difordour in your court and houſe. Officers and ſeruandis ar not chofen for ther qualites, bot at the inſtance of this or that frend or courteour. Then the number of all fortis of ſeruandis ar not limitat, in placing about you ſa many as ar neidfull, bot ane extraordinary number ; wheras twa ar anew in euery office ; and then your hynes prudency ſalbe beſt knawen, when ye ſalbe ſean to mak gud election of meit perſones for euery occupation. For the prince is ay eſtemed to be ſemblable vnto tha ſort of ſeruandis as he lykis beſt to be about him. Mekle conſiſtis in this, to haue in court, difcret, modeſt, courtes and vngredy courteours. Nothing wonnes mair the hartis of the people to the prince ; for ſa lang as they ſee about him ſic perſones, they ar out of fear to be bourdenit vnmeſurably. When they ſe men that ar not gredy, importun crauers, nor prodigall ſpenders of the princes geir and ther awen, nor ſterer vp of the prince to tak mens lyues for ther landis, they ar in hop that euery man may lywe vpon his awen, and the prince alſo vpon his awen patrimony. Therfor fuld the chekker be alſo chofen of trew reſtrik men, be the princes foirſicht ; wha fuld be oftymes preſent himſelf, and heir his awen comptis. For few dar controill or find falt with the wrang comptis of ſic officers as ar gret courteours, and in gret

fauour; quhilk I haue oft tymes fean and found falt with my felf, being vpon the chekker, to my gret hurt and difcredit.

“ The caufes why the patrimonye of the crown is fa diminifhit, your hyenes predeceffours difponit mekle to the kirk, for deuotion, and to noblemen and barrons, for gud feruice. And fometymes when princes wer cairles, to preuene rebellions vpon ther mifgouernement, they wer compellit to by the affiftance of a fort, be difpofition of landis, to help to reprefs another number of vnnaturall fubiectis; quhilk ther cairfull and provydent gouernement mycht haue prevenit and efchewed.

“ Alfo your Maiefte, of a noble and princely nature, difponit liberaly vnto dyuers gredy and importun perfones, during your minorite, dyuers landis and rentis, quhilkis wald haue ftand in gret fteid to the entertenement of your houfe; and ay heaped gift vpon gift till a fort of gredy cravers, and that be the perfuafions of fic as had your ear, and not to the beft deferuers.

P. 202.

“ Now the chekker being weill chofen, as faid is, and the rentmefters and ther officers that ar comptable to be trew refponfeable mean men, nother ouer gret men nor gret courteours, bot fic as men dar controill, and will not fear till offend; that all vacand benefices and cafualites be retenit in your awen handis, vntill ye fee what ye may fpaire.

“ Then the beft part of the properte lyes in the hylandis, wher nother God nor the King is ferued nor obeyed. Reducing the hylandis and the ylles, as your gudfchir K. James the fift did, your rentis may be that way redoubled. For the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche, fen they left the hylandis and the ylles to duell in the lawland; for ay fen fyn ther rentis haue bene diminifhit, and ther fuperflow expences increffit, at the vneuenly exemple of other nations nybours.

“ Then your hynes parkis wald be pleniffit and put to proffit, quhilk wilbe found a neccessary help to the halding of your houle. The rest of your stoir rowmes, lying in the far south partis, ar in sic handis that they wald not be medlit with as yet ; bot some yearly number of wethers wilbe easely granted, be them that posses presently the saidis stoir rowmes.

“ Also the forbeden gudis that pass yearly out of Scotland, gene they wer stayed and tane according to actis of parlement, wald be very profitable.

“ The best meanis to bring thir gud purposes to pass, is a princely prudent and gracious gouvernement ; quhilk is easiest brocht till pass when the prince correctis him self, before he correct his subiectis. For they wilbe schone subdewed vnto his will, when they se the same maid subiect vnto raisoun. For being subiect vnto raisoun, the prince has conkissit him self ; the rediest meanis also to conkis the hartis of the subiectis. Ther hartis being conkissit, the contre is easely conkist. The contre being conkist, the prince may plant and establis gud order therintill at his pleasour.

“ Theopompe being demandit, what way a king mycht best conferue and reull his realme, answereth, in geving liberte to them that loue him to tell him the treuth. The senat of Rome, wretting vnto Trajan, excuses princes to be negligent in many thingis, not samekle for that they haue no desyre till foirsee, as because few or nane dar warn them of the treuth ; and sayes mairouer, that it belangis to gud princes rather to haue regarde to the benefit of ther contre, then to the delytis of ther persone ; and rather till folow exercises till encrease ther reputation, then ther pastym ; then to be spair in speach, and prodigal in dedis.

“ And Plutarque to the same Trayan : Gif thy regiment answer not to the expectation of thy people, thou canst not be but subject to many dangers. And sayes farther, that princes shall reull well, gif they be thankfull to the great God, patient in chances of fortune and in trouble, diligent in execution, careful of their affairs and in dangers, mynd to the people, traitable to strangers, not greedy of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions and desires, the burthen of their office will be easy unto them.

P. 203. “ As God is the ruler and spirit of the world, so ought princes to reull, and to be the spirit of their country. The heaven, the earth, the sea, the planets, and all the elements, obey God's ordinance, be the strength of his continuall motion and providence. So should the prince, who is God's placeholder, be continuall care, providence, and motion, cause every lieutenant, minister, magistrate, judge, officer and sheriff, keep their due course in their vocation. For the which effect, it may please your Majesty consider the nature and wrong kind of Scottish government, be an continuall long corrupted custom.

“ Scotland is indeed hereditary, and a monarchy. Yet among all other monarchicall kingdoms, it is oftenest out of tune, be the sleuth and carelessness of princes, the unrewlynes and sturdyne of the subjects, the great rentis of the nobility and their great number. Also the many great comberfom clannes, so ready to concur together, and to rebel for the defence of any one of their name, or to revenge the just execution of some of them, for murder, slaughter, theft, or sic other crimes. Our Kings, wanting the means of fixed wageours remanynge in garnisons, as other monarches has, may not, at all occasions, punish and redress sic wrongs and disorder ; except so many of them as, be

wifdome and vertu, had wincuft ther awen paffions, oppinions and defyres, and be the fame meanis, raviffit the hartis of the maift and beft part of the fubiectis, to affift them with hart and hand to fuppreff the rebelles, and to punifh the offenders. Sic Kingis again as command abfolutely, not karing for the hartis of ther fubiectis, ther proclamations wilbe outwardly obeyed with ther bodyes; bot ther doingis will ftand the prince in na fteid in tym of neid, faif only to help to wrak him. Then ther is nathing mair dangerous for a Scotis K. that has not the loue of his fubiectis, nor when a gret nomber ar convenit together; for at fic tymes, they vfe to tak fodane consultations, to put ordour to the prince and his maift familier mignons. Of thir tua fortis of Kingis, the firft is mair nor a monarque, and the laft les then electywe. Of the firft, in Scotland, ther hes rong ouer few; and of the laft ouer many; quhilk is caufe that the contre is not yet halely conkift to the lawfull King. Quhilk is alfo caufe, that the corrupt cuftomes and diforder hes lefted fa lang, and ar not able to be remedied, vntill it may pleife God fend thre fic Kingis as I haue named of the beft fort, granting them lang lyf ilk ane to fucceed efter vther. I prey God that your Maieftè may begin and continow to be the firft of the thre. Bot wher it apperis ye ar aduyfed, be creating ma noblemen, to increafe your forces, wherby it rather makis them the ftarker; wheras dyuers vther princes preffit to mak them lawer and fewer, be raifoun of the auld emulation that hes lefted between the Kingis of Scotland and ther nobilite; the Kingis to command abfolutely as fouerain monarque; the nobles to withftand ther abfolut power, fometymes be fecret and indirect meanis, and oft tymes be plane refiftance and force. Then the wyfe, verteous and potent Kingis, wherof ther hes bene bot few, wer ay fouerain monarques,



and obtenit the maisterie ; and the cairles, sleuthfull and femple princes, that wer gydit be mean men, wer commonwly kepit captywes or flane. The gud and worthy prince tok vpon him mair or les absolut power and autorite, as he fand him felf able, be affiftance, fubftance, and alliance, or as he fand his nobilite feble, fulfche, and devydit.

P. 201. “ England beleues ay to be in the better eftait, be fchedding the bluid of ther nobilite, and debarring of them from the confaill and handling of the princes affaires. Scotland, now, contrary wyfe, be fpairing of the nobilite and barrons, and be making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way taking of the lyf of a nobleman or barroun, bredis ane hundreth ennemys ma or les, according to the gretnes of the clan or furname ; of the quhilk nomber fome will ly at the wait to be reuengit, albeit lang efter, when they fe ther tym. For the nobilite being fa many, be lang euell custom, they efteem them felues to be borne confellours ; and yet will not remain at court, nor vpon the confaill, without it be at conventions, or for fome particulaire proffit. And gif the prince pretend to reull by them, they vfe to mak fodane enterpryfes againft the prince and his famyliers ; of the quhilk tragedies, the cronikles ar fillit and defyled. Then efter fic a violent alteration, they think them felues odious to the prince ; fa that they feak commonly to be mefters ouer him fra that tym fourth, left he fuld, when he fies his tym, tak his revenge for ther contempt.

“ It is not beft then to debar your nobilite from being vpon the confaill ; bot grant plaice to a nomber of the wyfeft of them, wherof they will fchone tyre, and reteir when ther purfes begins to grow tume. And fa your ordonance fall tak effect of will, and they fall want occafion to gruge or rebell. It is meit alfo to won, be gud dede, part of the wor-



thyeft of your nobilite ; quhilk may be a ftay to hald the reft fra rebellion, when they will fee fa many of ther fort daily about you, and in your fauour.

“ Princes ar callit pafoures be Homere, and fathers of the contre be the Romans. Nane can be anfwerable till fic honorable names, without extrem diligence and fatherly cair, to fe euery officer occupy his vocation, and ftrait accompt to be tane how they difcharge ther dewtye ; rewarding weill doers and puniffing the offenders ; reward and puniffement being the pillaires wherupon the commown weill ftand.

“ Specially tak panes, this firft year of your mariage ; for the reputation obtanit the firft year, will left lang efterwart, whither it be gud or euell.

“ Be ernest and liberall to get gud intelligence, afweill of the eftait of contrees nybours, as of your awen ; of the greifs of your fubiectis, and parcialites and feadis that fallis fourth ; quhilk will open your eyn to fe findre outgaitis in matters of eftait.

“ Geue famylier acces to your nobilite and barrons, when they com ; cheifly to all fic as ar wreten for to your conventions.

“ Geue open audience, anes euery owk at leaft, to riche and pure, refaving ther fupplikations and complantis, and with ftrait command to the confaill and mefter of requestis, to geue them anfwer with fodane difpasche.

“ Caufe refoum the fuperfluite of clothing and banketing, afweill be your awen exemple as be commandement.

P. 205. “ Now fupponyng your Maiefte to be rype fruit, and na mair gren, I hope that your dear bocht experience hes maid you apt enough to receaue all profitable impreffions, prefented vnto you be your faithfull

prouen faruantis ; and not to commit fa easely again your wechty charge to any ane, twa or thre ; quhilk ye haue seën to haue alwais schot at ther awen markis, and not yours, bot to mak them felues gret and riche, parelling your estait to bring ther awen turnis to pafs ; quhilk kynd of doing, be some cairles princes, caused the poet Du Bellay to cry out—

*O trois et quatre fois malheureux la terre  
Dont le prince ne void que par les yeux dautruy,  
N'entend que par ceux qui respondent pour luy,  
Aveugle, sourd, et muet, plus qui n'est vne pierre.*

“ Na man will think it strange that, during your yong yeares, ye haue bene preffit and persuadit to lay the bourthen of affaires aff your self, vpon vthers wha gredely coueted that weichty charge abone ther capacite, wanting cair, knowlege, credit, and abilite, to bear it out. Bot now euery man will marvell, gif ye fuld do it in your perfyte age ; thinking that your prignant engyn, excellent memory, and hurtfull experiences, mon compell you to exerse the office of a K. in your awen persone. For wherof hes procedit sa many attemptatis, sa mony enterpryses, sa many takingis of your Maisteis persone, sa many alterations and chengementis of court, confellouris, faruandis and lawes, bot be geving the charge and keping of your scheep and subiectis to certane ambitious ravinous wolfes ; wha cessit not to cheifs and bring in court, for ther assistance, sic as they knew to be of ther awen qualites ; that they mycht concure togither, first, how to put out of your fauour, and debar fra your ear, all sic honest trew personnes as wald opon

againſt ther parnicious procedingis, that your Maieſte mycht nother ſee nor vnderſtand bot be ther eyn and eares. Then all was weall reuled and ordorit, calm and faire wether, for a very few dayes. Your Maieſte can weill enough remember, how oft I haue, for my part, foirwarnit you of the ſtormes that wer to fall out, throw the miſbehauour of ſic inſolent, ſic inconstant, ſic ſcornfull and ſic partiall perſonnes, as haue ofteſt poſſeſt your ear, and caried the vog in your court; and what vantage I obteanit therby, your Maieſte knawes. Yet I had this confort, that your Maieſte confeſſit that I had ſchawen you the verite; bot the ſaid confeſſion was ay behind the tym, with ouer lait repentance.

“ Heir your Maieſte may reproche me of inconstant confeſis, becauſe an year efter your retournyng fra Denmark, I ſchew yow that your ſubiectis wer not ſatiſfied of ther expectation, nor of your public promyle. Preing your Maieſte yet to begin, and other reull as apperteneth a richt king, only for a year, or elis to ſubmit the haille bourthen of your office to ſic a nember as I ſuld name, only for ane year. In doing any of thir twa, I ſaid I ſuld bind and oblyſe my ſelf, that your eſtate ſuld be ſufficiently ſatteled at the yeares end; or elis for my penaltie to be put in priſoun, or to be perpetually baniſſit out of Scotland.

P. 206.

“ Then it pleaſed your Maieſte to demande of me, the maner that I wald wiſs yow to reull as a King. Wherunto I maid answer, that it wald not ſet me, nor nane in Scotland, to ſchaw you the dewty of a king, quhilk ye culd do better and declair better then any of your conſaill, gif ye pleiſit to tak the panes bot only for a year to do your awen office your ſelf. In ſa doing, I ſupponit that before the end of the ſaid year, ther ſuld enſew ſic profitable effectis, that ye ſuld think the gouernement plaiſant and na mair painfull. Be the quhilk meanes alſo

your Maieſte ſuld eſchew the reproche of the poet Pauuue in ane of his verſes, ſaying in the Frenche—

*Je hay, dit il, entre les hommes ceux  
Qui ſont eſpris d'un vouloir pareſſeux,  
Et toujours ſemblent, ſ'on ſ'y fye,  
Practiquer l'art de la philoſophie.*

Italien.

*Chi non fa quel che deue, quel ch'aspetta non receue.*

Spanis.

*Si fueras regido par razon, a muchos regiras.*

“ In four thingis a prince ſchoneſt wrakis him ſelf.

“ To be cairles and ſleuthfull in his affaires.

“ To forſaik the ſeur counſell of his trew ſaruandis.

“ To geue largely vnto vnthankfull flatterers.

“ And to ſpend abone his rentis.

“ To retourn again to the purpos. It pleaſed your Maieſte to inquire, for the ſecond point, that mycht beſt ſatle your eſtait within the year. I ſaid, to ſubmit the haill bourthen, for a year, to a number of ſic as I ſuld name, with the beſt inclynit of your awen counſaill. To that your Maieſte agreed; bot when I cam mair in particulaire, your Maieſtie thoct it ouer mekle to be ſa far addicted, and ſa entierly ſubmitted. Then I requested your Maieſte to do the firſt, and do your awen office.

“ Yet not lang efter, your Maieſte ſubmitted your ſelf halely and entierly to aucht perſonnes, callit Octaviens ; and tald me how that ye had folowed my oppinion therintill, and had ſubmitted ſimpliciter for your tyme to the ſaidis aucht perſonnes. I replyed, that I ſpak bot for ane year, and that I wald haue named ſome of the ſaid number, but not all.”

They wer wyſe men, learnit and politik, the vnmeater that they wer cheſers of them ſelues ; yet they began to do better then any had done before them. Bot they continowed not, bot deuydit among them ſelues, efter that they had devydit the offices of the crown, to euery man ane ; wheras at the firſt, they had geuen fourthe that they ſuld plant mean reſponceable men in the ſaidis offices, and they all to be reſtrict controllouris of the ſaidis officers. Sa that many began to gruge againſt them, ſeing them becom ſa ſchone rich, and ther gret bakis, the haill ſubiectis and his Maieſteis awen domeſtikis to folow and depend vpon them, and Maieſte to paſs throw the ſtretis with thre or four, as foirſaiken, becauſe nane hoped any mair for reward at his hynes handis, bot ſa mekle as mycht be had for ſeruyng and depending vpon the ſaidis aucht lordis.

P. 207. They wer alſo ſa hated and enuyed, that a rebellion was raifed in Edenbrough againſt them in his Maieſteis prefens, partly for the cauſes ſpecified, and alſo for ſuſpition of papiftre. Wherby they fled aff the town, and ſen ſyn wald not tak vpon them the haill gouvernement, bot wer content to be junit with a number of noblemen and vthers of the confell, to the number of xxiiij. Bot the maiſt part of the noblemen taried not, bot cam quhen they wer wreten for to the conventions, as they wer wont ; ſa all this new deuyce tournit to the auld, ſicut antea.

. . . . .

Ye haue hard how that his Maieſte was aduſed, at his retournyng from Denmark, to put in ward ſic as wer geuen vp to haue bene maiſt vnrewly during his abſens ; bot being retournit, euen ſome of them that had deuſed the ſaid warding, wer the firſt warners of them that wer to be wardit ; not without ſome profit for ther reward, to the gret diſcontentement of ſome of ther aſſociatis. Quhilk lowſed the band that was maid in Denmark be the chanceler and his faction, and cauſed euery ane of that number to ga findre and do for them ſelues. Sa that all ther platis and deuycs turnit to wynd and vanite.

A mynt was maid to chenge ſome of the feſſion, bot ther was na concurrence. The chekker continowed a whyll to be the only conſell, and the nobilite when they cam, wer halden at the dur of that conſaill. Of the quhilk number I being ane, tok occaſion to ſay vnto his Maieſte, that it culd do na harm to cauſe them com in, ſeing they wer gret men, as my L. Hammiltoun, my L. Maxuell, and a number of vthers. Bot his Maieſte, of his awen motyue and naturell, was not chengeable fra the ordour layed down be them that he lyked and repofed vpon. Yet I paſt fourth of the chamber, and tald the noblemen that his Maieſte was vpon the ordoring of his rentis and daly expences, and thoct ſchame that they ſuld ſe the ſober eſtait therof ; quhilk was cauſe that they wer ſufferit to ſtand without. This litle excuſe ſatiſfied them in a maner ; bot this ordour was alſo ſchon alterit.

Anent the reducing of the hylandis and ylles ; thre of the principales, as Maclain, Maconell and Donald Gorm, wer ſubtilly drawn to the court be the chanceler, wha vnderſtod of ther partialites, and wer euery ane put in hope to get his hand beyond his ennemy. Bot at ther commyng, they wer all thre wardit in the caſtell of Edenbrough, to

ther gret astoniffement ; for they had committed sic foull mourthours vnder traift, that it wer horrible to rehers. Being therfore in fear of ther lyues, they delt largely of ther euell won gold to sic as had credit. Neuertheles they wer put to ane aysle, and convict of traifoun, and for many vther foull crymes ; quhilk caufed them redouble ther giftis to the gyders ; bot not to the King, in sic fort as it was agreed betwen his Maiefte and them, that they fuld geue plegis to pay yearly vnto his Maiefte twenty thowſand markis, for the landis of the properte wherof they had na ſecurete, and of the quhilk they had of yearly rent, as was geuen in to the chekker, twa hundreth thowſand and fyfty thowſand markis. This was all geuen them quyt for twenty thowſand. And wheras of before they had na richt nor ſecurete bot a forceable poſſeſſion, they obteanit ſure infeſtmentis, be chartour, ſeaſing and the gret feall, and a remiſſion of ther foull crymes. And ſchortly efterwart, ther plegis that wer kepit in the Blaknes wer ſet to liberte, for geving v<sup>m</sup>. markis to ane of his Maieſteis chamber ; and ſa the xx<sup>m</sup>. markis wer tint and never payed.

P. 208. Heir was a gud prince euell vſed and abuſed, and the half of his rentis robbit fra him ; and his God offendit, for ſpairing to do iuſtice vpon ſic bludy tirrantis, that acknawlegit nether God nor the King.

I had geuen his Maieſte aduſe to paſs him ſelf to the ylles and big a fort, and to remain ther twa yeares, and promyſed to ga with him ; ſchawing his hynes how that the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche ſen they left the hylandis, to duell in the law landis, bot haue euer ſen ſyn deminiſſit ther rentis, and increſſit ther ſuperſlew expences in cheir and clothing, at the uneuenly exemple in folowing the cuſtomes of vther nations nybours. Quhilk his Maieſte vnderſtod to be maiſt trew, and



was myndit to haue folowed the said aduysē; bot all was alterit be the formair misfeull.

Matters proceding in this sort, many began to tyn hope of amende-ment, or to se schortly sic a refourmation as was promysed and that they loked for; lamenting to se a gud K. sa euell handled, and that him self suld ouerse the same, and suffer euery thing to pass at the pleasour of them that wer about him.

About this tym his Maieste fend for me, and at my comyng to Facland, wher the court remanit for the sommer seasoun, it plaist his hynes to tell me, how that at his comyng out of Denmark he had promysed to the Quen and Confell ther, to place about the Quenis Maieste his bedfallow gud and discret company; quhilk he had left ouer lang ondone, till at lenth he aduysed with him self that I wald be metest; willing me not to refuse the iust calling of my prince. Wherin I mycht serue as in ane lawfull vocation; because they that sut for seruice in court or any office, dois it for ther awen proffit; bot they ar mair profitable for princes, that ar socht and chosen for ther qualites. “I know that ye wald fayn lyue at hame in your house with contentement of mynd; bot ye know that a man is not born for him self only, bot also for the weall of his prince and contre; and wheras your continowall vnwating wilbe coistly and chargeable to yow, and henderfome to your awen affaires at hame, I fall ordane sufficient enterntement for your present releif, and recompence for this and your formair faithfull seruice.”

I answerit that, as his Maiesteis maist humble seruant and subiect, I neuer refused till obey his commandement; and suld be his direction do my vtter deligens to satisfie his hynes expectation. Then it pleaseth

him to tell me, how that nane of his confaill, nor chamber, nor na man was maid preuy to this purpos, bot a only man ; and that the Quen had gottin word of it, and supponit that I was to be put ther to infourm her richtly of the estait of the contre, and anent hir behauour to his Maieste, and to euery nobleman and lady conform to ther rankis and conditions, and to be hir keper.

P. 269. Now his Maieste tok occasion to enter in purpos with me openly at the table, and therupon schew vnto the Quen, how that sche and all hir nation wer addetted vnto me, for the continowall gud will and report that I maid of that nation ; and also how that I had fean many countrees, and was a man of fa gret experience, that baith he and sche mycht learn at me findre thingis profitabill for ther weill, and stand- ing of ther estait ; and that the Quen his mother fand hir self mekle releued be my conuersation, and seruice of importance, asweill heir at hame as when I was employed be hir in other countrees. This far his Maieste said abone my deferuingis, to set me out, and to cause hir Maieste tak the better lyking of me. Wherunto the Quen schew na gret countenance, bot tok cauldly with me ; when, efter dinner it pleased his Maieste to present me vnto hir, to be hir hynes confellour and gentil- man of hir chamber. Some dayes efter, hir Maieste askit at me gif I was ordonit to be hir keper. I answerit, that hir Maieste was knawen to be descendit of fa noble and princely parentis, and fa weill brocht vp, that sche nedit na keper, albeit hir dignite requyred to be honorable seruit with men and women, baith yong and auld, in findre occupations. Then sche said that I was euell done to ; and how that at the first, when sche was yet yngnorant of euery mans qualites, some indifereit enuyers wald haue put me in hir disfaueur. I said that I was put in



done, whow many they had won to ther oppinion fen ther laft meting, what fucces the melting of the pictour had tane, and fic vain toyes. And becaufe ane auld fely pure plowman, callit Grey Meill, chancit to fay that “ nathing ailit the King yet, God be thankit,” the deuell gaif him a gret blaw. Then dyuers amang them enterit in a raifonyng, maruelling that all ther deuellerie culd do na harm to the K. as it did till others dyuers. The deuell anfwerit, “ Il eft vn home de Dieu.” And certainly he is a man of God, and dois na wrang wittingly, bot is inclynit to all godlynes, juftice, and vertu, therefore God hes preferued

P. 210. him in the midis of many dangers. Now efter that the deuell had endit his admonitions, he cam down out of the pulpit, and caufed all the company to com and kifs his ers, quhilk they faid was cauld lyk yce; his body was hard lyk yrn, as they thocht that handled him; his faice was terrible, his noife lyk the bek of ane egle, gret bournyng eyn; his handis and legis wer herry, with clawes vpon his handis and feit lyk the griffon, and fpak with a how voice.

The trikis and tragidie that he played them, amang fa many men and wemen in this contre, wald hardly get credit be the pofterite; wherof Mefter James Carmichell minifter of Haddingtoun has ther hiftory and haill depofitions. Amang vther thingis, fome of them fchew how that ther was ane weftland man, callit Riche Grame, wha had ane familier fpirit; the quhilk Riche, they faid, culd baith do and tell many thingis, cheifly againft the Erle Bodowell. Wherupon the faid Riche Grame was apprehendit and brocht till Edenbrough; wha being exemed before his Maiefte, I being prefent, granted that he had ane famylier fpirit that fchew him findre thingis. Bot he denyed that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. Bot when it was an-

ſwerit to him again, how that Anny Sampfoun had declaired, that he cauſed the Erle Bodowell addreſs him till hir ; he granted that to be trew, and that the Erle Bodowell had knowlege of him be Effe Mac-kalloun and Barbery Naper, Edenbrough wemen. Wherupon he was ſent for be the Erle Bodowell, wha requyred his help to cauſe the Kingis Maieſte his maifter to lyk weill of him ; and to that effect he gaif the ſaid erle ſome drog or herb, willing him at ſome convenient tym to tuiche his Maieſteis faice therwith. Quhilk being done be the ſaid erle, and fand him not the better, he delt again with the ſaid Riche, to get his Maieſte wracked, as Riche allegit ; wha ſaid that he culd not do ſic thingis him ſelf, bot that a notable midwyf wha was a witcher, callit Anny Sampfoun, culd bring any ſic purpos till paſs. This far the ſaid Riche Grame affirmed dyuers tymes before the conſaill. Nevertheles he was brunt, with the ſaid Sampfoun and findre other witches. This Riche allegit that it is certane of the fary folk, and that ſpritis may tak a fourm, and be ſean, bot not felt.

The Erle Bodowell, as I haue ſaid, was entrit in ward within the caſtell of Edenbrough, his Maieſte not willing to credit his deuelliſche accuſers. Bot the conſaill thocht meteft, that he ſuld paſs his tym in other contres for a whyll, vnder ſome artycles and conditions. Bot ſome of them that wer apponted to deall with him, went about to draw commodite fra him to be his frendis ; vthers that wald haue had the eſtait troublit, maid him falſe aduertifementis. Quhilk cauſed him tak purpos to ſaif him ſelf out ouer the caſtell wall, and reterit him ſelf to Caitnes ; wher he wes ſchortly ſent for be ſic as wer malcontentis, and vthers wald haue fiſched in dromely watters, alleging that they had maid him frendis anew in court, and that ther was a fayre enterpryſe deuyſed to

p. 211. tak the K. and fley the chanceler. To this purpos, he wes easely per-  
fuadit to com and mak him self head of the said enterpryse ; wha not  
lang efter, accompanied with James Douglas fomyntes lard of Spot,  
the lard of Nitherie, meister Jhon Coluille and findre vthers, entrit in  
the Kingis palice lait about supper tym, be the passage of ane auld  
stable, not without secret intelligence with some that wer about his  
Maieste. Sa schone as they wer all within the clofe of the palice, they  
cryed, " Justice, Justice, a Bodowell, a Bodowell ;" and had bene maif-  
ters of the haill, wer not that James Douglas of Spot, efter that he had  
tane the keyes from the porter, enterit within the porter loge to re-  
leue some of his seruandis that wer kept ther in prisoun, and had bene  
examed and buted, vpon suspition of the slauchter of his gud father the  
auld lard of Spot. In the quhilk doing ther was some resistance maid  
be the porters, the bruit wherof raife schoner nor was the intention of  
the enterprysers ; quhilk was a foirwarnyng to his Maieste, the chan-  
celer and vthers, to cloise and fortifie ther chamber durris, and to mak  
resistance, vntill some releif cam out of the Canogait, be convoy of my  
brother Sir Androw Meluille of Garvok, his Maiesteis maister houshald ;  
wha knew a secret passage throw the abbay kirk, and entrit be the  
same in armour. Quhairof the Erle Bodowell and his company being  
aduertist, stealed quyetly throw the galleries vnto the part wher they  
entrit in the palice, and fled without any gret harm done, as God wald ;  
saif in his outganging, he chancit to meit with Jhon Schaw master  
stable to his Maieste, whom he slew together with his brother, being  
in a rage that the enterpryse had failed. Bot dyuers of his company  
wer apprehendit be my said brother, and be others efterwart, wha wer  
all executid the nyxt day.



Ther maner of proceeding was ; first the Lard of Spot with a company tok the keyes, and maid them selues mesters of the portis of the palice. Another company wer directed to the chanceler, wha was sitting at his supper, and my brother Sir Robert with him, and had bene tane, wer not the Lard of Spotis earnestnes to releif his faruandis. The bruit wherof caused the chanceler to fle out of his hall to his chamber, and schut the dur efter him ; sa that my said brother gat na entre, bot reterit him self in another void house, wher na body persewed him ; nether was he in any fear for him self. The Erle Bodowell, accompanied with Mester Jhon Coluille and vthers, addreffit them vnto the Quenis chamber dur, wher he supponit to find his Maieste ; bot the dur was weill defendit be Hary Lindsay of Kilfans, hir Maiesteis maister houfhald. In the mean tym, his Maieste was convoyed vp to that towr abone the said chamber, efter that the dur of hir hynes chamber had bene broken with foir hammers in dyuers partis, and that Mester Jhon Coluille had caused bring fyre to burn it vp. The dur of the chancelers chamber was manfully debaited be him self, and caused his men schut out of the windowes continowally, and throw durris ; wher Robert Scot brother to the lard of Belwery was schot throw the thy. And wer not my brother the mester houfhald, that was newly planted in the north syd of the clofe, cryed to the chanceler not till schut to-wart that syd, he was in danger also. Bot the chanceler tok courage when he hard his voice, and then the enterprysers fled as said is.

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At ther first entre within the palice, I was sitting at the yffin of our supper, with my L. Duc of Lenox ; wha tok his fuerd incontinent, and preffit fourth. Bot he had na company, and the plaice alredy full of vnfreendis, we wer compellit to fortifie the durris and staires, with



burdis, fourmes, and stules, and be sþectatoris of that strange hurly burly, for the sþaice of ane hour ; behalding with torche leicht fourth of the Dukis gallerie, ther reilling, ther rombling with halbertis, the clakking of ther colueringis and pistolles, the duntting of melis and forehammers, and ther crying for justice. Now ther was a passlage between the chancelers chamber and my L. Ducs be a staire. During this frey, the chancellor cam vp the said staire, and defyred entre in my Lord Ducs chamber. My L. Duc, be my aduyse, willit him to caufe his men debait at the nether dur sa lang as they mycht, and offerit to refaue him self within his chamber ; quhilk the chancellor tok in ane euell part, and susþected my L. Duc, and sa returnit bak again to his awen chamber, and debait the best he culd, as said is. My L. Duc, sa schone as he saw company of frendis within the clofe, past fourth to perfew the Erle Bodowell and his company ; bot the nycht was dark, and they tok them sþedely to ther horse and eschaiped.

They being reterit, we gat entre to hir Maiesteis chamber, wher the K. was for the tym com down. Wher his Maieste discoursit with me a gud sþace of this terrible attemptat, and of his many hard fortunes. Wher I left not to tell his Maieste, some of the sþeciall causes of the saidis enterpryses, and how that many of them mycht haue bene eschewed and prevenit, be a prudent and cairfull gouvernement ; as may be sufficiently marked and confiderit be the many admonitions and formair aduertissementis that wer maid vnto his Maieste, before all the accidentis that chancit vnto him, and also in this. For, twa dayes before this enterpryse, my brother Sir Robert and I had gottin intelligence, that ther was ane enterpryse schortly to be execut be the Erle Bodowell and his complices, against his Maieste and the gyders of

court ; wherof his Maieſte being aduertified, maid na accompt therof, bot was the nyxt day paſſing to the huntis to tak his paſtym. Quhilk coming to my brothers eares, he raiſe out of his bed fark allane, only in his nycht gown, and cam fourth to the vtter cloſs of the abbay, and tok his Maieſte be the brydill, (for he was alrede vpon horſbak,) to haue ſtayed him with many perſuaſions, bot all in vain. For we wer in dout whither the enterpryſe wald be execut in the feildis, or within the palice.

After this attemptat, his Maieſte paſt vp to the town of Edenbrough for his greter ſecurite, wher ther wer dyuers new enterpryſes maid ; wherof my brother Sir Robert getting oft aduertifmentis, ſometymes to kepe his logging ſic a nycht, ſometymes to be weill accompanied ſic a nycht, as a man that had done pleſour to many, and was not hated, nor wald not be in danger, ſa that he mycht ſaif himſelf from the firſt fury of the enterpryſers. This hes bene the hard eſtait of this gud king, for laying the bourding of his affaires vpon men that wer hated, and  
 P. 213. envyed for ther ambition, gredines, particuliers and vengeance ; wha ſa ſchone as they had atteinit ſa wechty a charge, tok only cair how to mak them ſelues ſchone riche, and maiſt commonly be the wrak of vthers, or ther ennemys ; ſa blindlingis transported be ambition and gredines, that they ouerſaw baith king and commown weall ; making the K. content with faire langage, and the contre miſcontent be hurtfull dedis ; caring only how to diſcredit ſa many honeſt men as they knew wald diſcouer ther miſbehauour, or that wald opon againſt the ſame ; quhilk I may juſtly teſtifie for my part.

Not lang efter this, a new enterpryſe was maid to mak a gret change in court, be ſome courteours amang them ſelues ; when as the Meſter of

Glames was tresorer, Sir George Hume maister of the garderob, my L. of Spyny gentilman of the chamber, and yong Logy also ; Sir Jhon Maitland lord of Thirleftane chanceler, Sir Robert my brother tresorer deput, and had the principall handling of the office be receaving and debourfing ; the prouest of Linclouden collectour and Seatoun of Parbroith controllour, and Sir Richard Cocburn of Clarkingtoun secretaire, and I was ane of the preuy confaill, and gentilman of hir Maiesteis chamber. My L. Duc, my Lord of Mar, and my Lord Hume, wer drawn vpon this course, to reform the abusis in court, as was allegit. Ther was na gud lyking betwen the maister of Glames and my Lord of Spyny, cheifly for the fead betwen the houses of Crafford and Glames. Then my Lord of Spyny was in sa gret fauour with his Maieste, and sometymes his bedfallow, that he was worthy to be enuyed, attour the foirlaid feid. Then he was accused to haue bene a dealler with the Erle Bodowell, and was decourted for a tym. Yong Logy was estemed to haue had gret dealing with the said erle, and was accused and tane and wardit for the same ; bot he eschaped out of a window in Daketh, be the help of a Dence gentilwoman, whom he married efterwart.

Ther was a gret suspition betwen my L. Duc and the chanceler ; for efter the lait enterpryse in the abbey, the chanceler caused cloise vp the passage with stane and lym, that was betwen his loging and my L. Duckis ; wherby he gaif the Duc till vnderstand that he suspected him, quhilk was weill raclefely done be the said chanceler. For efter that this new alteration was intendit, and callit the enterpryse maid at Dakeith, my L. Duc and my L. Hume ryding from Dakeith to Edenbrough, met the chanceler weill accompanied ryding to the court ; wher the

faid lordis maid a mint to fet vpon him, as to fley him. Yet the matter was helpit, at that tym, be Allexander Hume of Northberwik and my brother, wha wer in company with the chanceler for the tym. Bot fchortly efter that, the chanceler left the court, and reterit him to his houfe. And in his abfens, a gret number of faltis wer layed out againft him, and amang the reft, how that [he] had maid fa gret henderance to the Kingis mariage, wherby the Quenis Maiefte was maid his gret enemy.

The Mefter of Glames alfo wald fayne haue had my brother out of his office, to bruik the haill office of treforer his ailane. Therefore the lard of Carmychell, capten of the gard, was eafely perfuadit to caufe a number of the gard, that ftod with coluerings at the yettis of the place of Daketh, to boift to fley my faid brother dyuers tymes, in his paffing in and fourth of the place of Daketh; fupponing that my brother fuld tak a fear of his lyf, and leaue the court as the chanceler had done. Bot my brother maid na accompt of ther boift, for he knew the Duc to be his frend, and that he had bot a few ennemys; therefore hanted the court efter than he was wont to do, and cam ay weill accompanied. For they culd get nathing to lay to his charge, bot faid vnto his Maiefte that he was ouer liberall in his office to be a treforer, ouer eafy in his compositions, and ouer gentill to the horners. The Quenis Maiefte, according to hir custome, wheneuer fche vnderftandis that his Maiefte, be wrang information, is fterit vp againft any honeft faruant or fubiect, fche procures incontinent for them, and vſes gret deligence to get fure knowlege of the verite, that fche may the baldlyer ſpeak in ther fauour. Therefore ſa ſchone as hir Maiefte vnderftod that they wer deling againft Sir Robert my brother, it pleaſed hir to ſpeak far in his fauour; declaring how that at hir firſt landing in this con-

tre, his Maieſte had preſented him vnto hir, praying him to haue bene a trew ſaruant to the Quen Regent his gudame, to the Quen his mother, and to him ſelf, willing hir to think ſa of him and to vſe his gud counſaill. And alſo many of the lordis tok my brothers part, in ſic fort as he kepit ſtill court.

When this chengement was maid, I was abſent ; and at my coming again to the court, his Maieſte tald me of the chancelers fearfull retrait, and that he was in na danger in his company. I ſaid again, that the princes preſens ſuld be a ſaif gard, albeit it was not alwayes ſa in Scotland. It apperit that his Maieſte, be hard inſourmations, was ſomething alterit vpon the chancellor, and my Lord of Spyny, and my brother ; for as the Meſter of Glames wald haue had his office, others miſlyked hym becauſe he hanted the chancelers company, and was thoct to be his gret frend ; ſa that his Maieſte was moued to think and ſpeak, that he was not meit for his office. I being preſent, anſwerit that I lamented to heir and ſee ſa gud a prince alwayes enuyronit with euell company, cauſing him ſa oft, without offence, caſt aff his maiſt ancient and faithfull ſaruantis ; and that it ſuld be ſean, let men ſerue neuer ſa weill, gif it be euell interpret be ſic as had his ear, it auailed not. To this his Maieſte replied, that he knew my brother to be a trew ſaruant, bot ouer gentill, lyberall and eaſy in his compositions, and that he ſuld neuer alter vpon him nor me. Sa that his Maieſte continowed conſtant, againſt the intention of ſome of them that wer about him.

Heir it may be ſean, how neceſſary it is to haue gud frendis beſyd the prince, and how hurtfull and dangerous it is for a courteour, when ſic as haue the prince ear ar ther ennemys. Otherwayes what ſoeuer he be that repoſes vpon his gud ſeruice, is commounly cowped and wraked.

About this tym capten James Stuart, vmwhyll callit Erle of Arran, wha had bene lang ablent euer fen the raid of Stirling, cam to the court, and spak with his Maieſte, and pretendit to haue obtenit again his office of chancelair. His Maieſte had ſtill a gud lyking of him, and wald haue bene content of his company, bot others held him a bak ; and ſchortly efter that, he was ſurpryſed and ſlane be James Douglas of Parkheid, for the death of the Erle of Mortoun his oncle, and litle deligence maid for the reuenge therof ; many thinking ſtrange that he was left ſa lang on lywe, in reſpect of his inſolent behauour when he had the court. He had wone many that wer about his Maieſte, and ſome miniſters conſented to his incommyng again to the court.

P. 215. Now the chanceler, that was decourted at the chengement maid in Dakeith, did what he culd to get his Maieſteis fauour ; quhilk he obtenit, and was brocht in again. Bot the Quenis Maieſte wald not ſe him, nor haue to do with him ; yet at lenth, be the moyen of Sir Robert Car of Sefford, wha had maried his brother dochter, his drefs was maid alſo with hir Maieſte.

About this tym, ther araiſe gret ſtryf and diſorder in the contre be- 1591.  
tween the Erles of Huntly and Murray, between the Erles of Caitnes and Sutherland, between my Lordis Hamniltoun and Angus ; for dyuers of them had maid futtis, and obtenit commiſſions, with ample preueleges ouer others landis, aſweill as ouer ther awen, quhilk pat many of them in diſcord. Wherof I aduertift his Maieſte, that ordour mycht be tane theranent. Wherupon the conſaill being conuenit, they ordonit lettres to be directed in his Maieſteis name, charging them all to leaue af fra hoſtilite, and to compere before the preuy conſaill at pre-fixt dayes.



Firft the Erles of Huntly and Murray comperit, being a gentleman of his name flain with a ſhot out of the houſe of Tarnaw, be thierle of Murray, whom they braggit at his awen houſe. Baithe the parties being com ſtark to the court, wer commandit to keip ther logins, for eſchewing of comber. Before ther compering, his Maieſte was aduſfed be the chanceler and ſome of the chamber, what ordour ſuld be meteft to be tane between them. Then his Maieſte propoſit the ſame to the counſaill him ſelf, to wit thre pointis ; other preſent agreement to be maid, or warding of baith the erles, or caution to be tane of baith ; then to ſend hame the ane, and hald the other ſtill at court for a whill. His Maieſte folowing fourth his propoſition, declared firſt, how that the parties culd not be preſently agreed, becauſe of the het bluid of the Lard of Cluny, Gordons brother, laitly ſlaine. And anent warding, that the caſtell of Edenbrouch had anew of wardouris alredy ; that the abbay was not a meit ward for noblemen. Sa that caution to be tane of them baith wald be beſt ; and to hald them ſindre, to ſend hame the ane, and retean the other in court for a feafoun. The chanceler was of that ſame oppinion, and ſindre vthers that uſed commonly to pleaſe them that had the cheif handling. Then his Maieſte commandit me to tell my oppinion ; quhilk was, that I wiſſit na delay bot preſent agreement ; ſupponyng that the Erle of Huntly, for his Maieſteis pleaſour and command, wald not reſuſe nor think ſchame to obey his prince be a preſent vptaking ; ſeing he was com ſa far a journey, with his wyf and hail houthald, to remain all that winter in court. At this the chancelair chekkit me up tauntingly, ſaying that the Erle of Huntly wald tary at court all that day till the morn, and wald part na ſchoner ; for he had promyſed to the ſaid erle that advantage vpon his ennemy ; albeit, the erles intention was to haue taried



all that winter in court. The justice clerk was of my opinion, bot said that it apperit his Maieſte, with the chanceler, had concludit alreedy to fend Huntly hame, and let the other remane at court.

Sa ſchone as the Erle of Huntly was at hame in the north, and wanting his compeditour, tryumphed and tok ſindre aduantages vpon the Erle of Murreys dominions, geuing the Erle of Murrey occaſion to complain; bot getting na redreſs, reterit him from the court, and becam ſa malcontent, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell, wha was ſtill vpon his enterpryſes. The Erle of Huntly, aduertit that his ennemy was becom ane outlaw with the Erle Bodowell, re-  
 p. 216. turnit again to court, to get yet farther aduantages ouer him. Bot in the mean tym, the Lord Ogiltre trauelit to agre them; with conſent of his Maieſte drew the Erle of Murray to Donybirſell, to be neir hand, that ther conditions and artikles mycht be ekked or paired, at the pleſour of ther frendis. The Erle of Huntly being alſo maid preuy to his comyng to Donybirſell, obteanit incontinent ane commiſſion, (ſeamyng to do his Maieſte acceptable ſeruice,) till perſew be fyre and ſword the Erle Bodowell and all his partakers. Litle wiſt his Maieſte that he was myndit, vnder this generall, to aſſailge the Erle of Murray at his awen houſe, vnder commownyng, to ſley him, as he did to the regret of many.

Bot the Lord Ogiltre tok ſic a deſpyt, that his frend was ſa ſlane 1592. vnder commownyng, as he allegit, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell; and ſa did dyuers vthers, encouraging the ſaid erle to aſſailge the Kingis Maieſte within his palice of Facland; having dyuers in court, that wer famylier anough with his Maieſte, vpon the ſaid conſpyracy with him, whais conſaill his Maieſte folowed maiſt. Sa that they drew him in ane hoile net, to abyd ſtill in Facland, not-

withstanding of the many fure aduertiffementis that had bene maid vnto him. Sic hes bene his Maiefteis hard fourtoun at many sic strait tymes.

The few nomber that wer faithfull and cairfull for his Maiefte, gaif him confaill, efter the first aduertifement, to pafs to Couper, and conuene with all possible deligence the barrons of Fyf for his deffence. Bot sic as socht his wrak, perswadit him to tary and delay; alleging that they had fure aduertiffement, that the Erle Bodowell wald not com out of Lowdien till sic a day; quhilk wald haue bene twa dayes langer, and behind the day quhilk he keped, and cam till Facland twa dayes schoner. This aduyfe was geuen, that his Maiefte mycht be surpryfed, before he culd other enter within the tour of Facland, or be provydit with any forces to deffend him. And becaufe they knew my brother and me to be cairfull for him, they aduyfed his Maiefte to fend us hame to our houfes, that same nycht that we vnderftod the Erle Bodowell wald be ther, and had fa tald his Maiefte; bot he beleued his abusers better. Bot we gaif his Maiefte confaill to ryd quyetly to Banbriech, and mak na man preuy therto bot ane, and let it appeir that he was still in Facland secretly within the tour; then at ther coming, missing his Maiefte, they wald be discoragit, and geue they cam till persew him in Banbriech, he mycht tak a boit, and pafs ouer till Angus, wher he wald haue leafer till conuene the townes of Perth and Dundee, and the contre. Bot this aduyfe was also ouerthrowen be them that wer vpon the contraire part.

Thus we being commandit be his Maiefte to ryd hame and to warn the contre incaice he wer besegit within the tour, euery ane raid hame. My brother that same nycht, be the way, was aduertist

be ane of the Erle Bodowelis awen company, how that he was al-  
redy in Fyfe, and wald be in Facland about supper tym ; vpon the  
quhilk aduertifment, he fend bak a gentilman of his callit Robert  
Athlek, to schaw his Maieſte and to request him to enter in dew  
tym within the tour. When the ſaid Robert declaired the matter  
vnto his Maieſte, they all leuch at him and ſcorned him, and ſaid  
that he was bot a full. The ſaid Robert, ryding bak again, mal-  
content to haue ben ſa mocked, met the Erle Bodowel and his company  
vpon the heicht of the Lommondis, when it was elis dark nycht, and  
P. 217. turnit incontinent as gif he had bene an of thers, and vſed gret deli-  
gence to be firſt at his Maieſte ; entring within the palice of Facland,  
cloſed the getis him ſelf, and cryed continowally to cauſe his Maieſte en-  
ter within the tour ; wha beleued him at lenth, and mocked him na mair.

The Erle Bodowell at his commyng had pittardis to brek vp getis  
and durris. It was allegit that ſome of them that ſchot out of the  
tour for his Maieſteis defence, had chargit ther culveringis only  
with paiper ; bot ſome of his Maieſteis houſhald officers ſchot out  
boulletis, quhilk gaue the erle and his company a gret ſkar. Alſo his  
entring within the tour before he was ſuppryed, ſupponyng that the  
contre wald gather ; the ſaid erle and his company reterit and fled,  
without any folowing efter them, wher a few number mycht haue  
eaſely ouertane and ouerthrowen them. That ſame nycht I lay in my  
butis abone the bed, awating vpon word out of Facland, wher ther was  
ane left to that effect ; at whais bakcomming, I with other frendis and  
nybours raid to conuene the contre at Couper, to haue reſcued his  
Maieſte. To the quhilk his Maieſte fend, and aduertift us that the  
erle and his company wer fled ; yet deſyred the barrons and townes to  
com fordwart to Facland, as they did to the number of thre thowſand

that same day at efternoon. This way God delyuerit his Maieſte myraculouſly, as he had done dyuers tymes of before.

About this tym, cam to his Maieſte ane honeſt gentilman of Yreland, callit \_\_\_\_\_, wha maid offers of conſequence to his Maieſte. Wherof the Quen of England was incontinent aduertit, to requyre the ſaid gentilman to be delyuerit vnto hir, quhilk the maiſt part of the conſaill perſuadit his Maieſte to do. Albeit, the Juſtice Clark and my brother and I wer of the contrary oppinion; quhilk dede did gret harm to the weill of his Maieſteis affaires in England and Yreland. This I ſay with gret regret, becauſe it was ſa far againſt his Maieſteis awen mynd; and yet ſufferit to be done, becauſe the cheif ringleaders haue bene alwayes wone to the deuotion of England.

Now the Prince being borne at Stirling the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the year \_\_\_\_\_, his Maieſte thocht meit to ſend ambaffadours till Eng-  
 1594. land, Denmark, France, and Flanders, to requyre ther ambaffadours to be ſend to the baptiſme of the Prince his firſt born ſone; the conſaill being commandit to diſern vpon ſic as wer meteft to be ſend for that meſſage, as they did. Yet ſic as procured to be ſend, obteanit the commiſſion, albeit ſome of them wer vnmeit for that erand; as Sir Willyeam Keith, becauſe he culd nether ſpeak French, Latin nor Flemyng; the lard of Eaſter Weames procured to cary the commiſſion to France, and alſo to England, becauſe he was to paſs ther for to ſut his awen affaires, being the K. of France ſaruand. Bot Meſter Peter Yong ſped beſt, wha was ſend to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunſwick, for he gat thre fair cheigngeis. Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing; quhilk ther dewty had cauſed them to do, gif ambaffadouris expreſs had bene ſend vnto them.

P. 218. Nether fend the K. of [France] any ambaffadour heir at that tym ; quhilk the Quen of England was anes at the first myndit to do the lyk, vntill that ſche was aduertit be hir ambaffadour in France, that the K. wald fend nane. Then very lait ſche fend the Erle of Suffix, to let us think that ſche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refuſe and ly abak. On the vther part, the Ducs of Mekelburgh and Brunfwik wer difcontent, that they wer ſa far diſpyſed as not to fend them a man expreis to ilk ane of them. A ſpeciall day was apponted for the ſolemniffing of the ſaid baptſme. The ambaffadours of Denmark and Dutchelands arrayed almaiſt togither. His Maieſte had fend for me of before, to be ther at ther landing, to reſaue them, and to enterdeny them ; bot the ambaffadour of Mekelbourgh and Brunfwik wald not ryd out of Leith in company with the Dence ambaffadours, when they wer convoyed vp to Edenbrough, bot wald haue a convoy a part.

A few dayes efter them, arrayuit the ambaffadours of the eſtatis of the Law Contrees, to wit, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Brederod, and Mons<sup>r</sup> Folk, gret treforer of Holland and Zeland ; wha landit at the New Heauen, wher I was weill accompanied to reſaue them, having horſe and fut mantelis in a redines to cary them vp to Edenbrough to ther logingis.

A litle before the landing of the ſaidis ambaffadouris, the day of the baptſme was delayed, becauſe ther was na word of any Frenche ambaffadour, nor of the Engliſ ; and the Kingis chaipell in the caſtell of Stirling, quhilk was caſten down to be biggit again in a better fourm, was not yet perfourmed. Sa that the ambaffadours wer ordonit to remain in Edenbrough, till all mycht be put in gud ordour. Therefore his Maieſte appointed his meſter houſhold and my L. of Tungland my brether, togither with me, to enterdeny them vpon his hynes charges,

and also bear them company. Then efter they had taried lang in Edenbrough, and feing na apperance of any vther ambassadours other out of France or England, we wer commandit with some vthers of the confaill to convoy them to Stirling; at quhilk tym his Maieste maid his excuses, that they wer sa lang delayed in Edenbrough without any acquaintance plesour or confort. Bot they allegit that they had gret contentement of our company, quhilk his Maieste left not to declair before the haill confaill, geving me gret thankis, alleging that I had done many gud offices, and this amang the rest, quhilk he suld never forget; and that he had thre other of my brether, that wer all meit for sic matters, and for forrene affaires.

Now being in dout of the Englis ambassadours commyng, the ceremony was to be solemnisit without langer delay. In the mean tym, ther cam word that the Erle of Suffis was vpon his journey toward Scotland, for the Quen his meistris, on whom the action staid. The day of the solemnite, ther was gret busynes for ther honours and seatis. That being agreed, ther was a tum chair set before the rest, for the K. of France ambassadour. The order of the banket and triumphe, I leaue till others to set out.

P. 219. When the ambassadours had audience of the Quenis Maieste, I was appointed to stand a litle behind, and nyxt vnto hir Maieste. To the Englis, Dence and Dutche ambassadours, hir Maieste maid answer hir self; bot to the ambassadours of the estaitis, albeit hir Maieste culd speake feamly Frenche, yet sche roundit in my ear to declair vnto them hir answer. Then euery ane of them be ordour maid ther presentis, for the godbarne gift. The jowelis of precious staines sche resaut in hir awen hand, and then delyuerit them vnto me, to put them again in



ther caices, and lay them vpon a table, quhilk was prepared in the midis of the chamber to lay them vpon. The Quen of Englandis had a gret schaw, in fair coipburd of filuer ouergilt cuningly wrocht, and some coupes of gold mafflywe. The ambassadours of the estaitis presented a golden built, wherin was wreten vpon parchment, in lettres of gold, a gift of a yearly pention to the prince of fywe thowfand

be year; with gret coupes of mafflywe gold, twa in speciall, quhilkis wer anough for me to lift and set down vpon the said table. I leaue till vthers to set down ther weicht and valour; bot I say that they wer schone melted and spendit, I mean sa many as wer of gold, quhilkis fuld haue bene kepedit in store to the posterite. Bot then, they that gaif aduys to brek them had wanted ther part, as they had of the Quenis tocher.

All thir ambassadours being dispatched and weil rewardit, they of 1593. Denmark wer aduysed be Mester Jhon Lindsay of Menmure, to cause send in heir again in deligence new ambassadours, to requyre the contract of mariage that was maid in Denmark to be fulfillit; alleging that the chancelair, wha maid it, had left out the rentis of the abbey of Domfermeling that lay befouth the watter of Fort, fraudfully, and had tane in few to him self all the lordship of Muffelbruch. Therefore wer sent out of Denmark twa ambassadours, to wit, Stean Bill and Doctour Craik, on whom I was appointed to attend, and se them weil vsed and entertened. As they wer weil instructed, sa they chancit vpon a meit tyme; for the chanceler was for the tyme decourted, and my brother was ambassadour for his Maieste in England. Sa the chanceler was caused to renunce ouer his part; and becaufe my brother Sir Robert was absent, yong Sir Robert his sone and I obligit us, that his part, quhilk



was a xiiij chalder of vituell, fuld be also renuncit ouer at his retourn-  
yng, quhilk he did. Dyuers vthers that had some portions wer lyk-  
wais compellit, other be gud will, or elis be a new law that was maid  
for that effect. Bot his Maieſte promyſed to my ſaid brother afmekle  
heritage in another part, in reſpect that his gift was obtenit lang before  
the contract of mariage.

Thir twa ambaffadouris being weill ſatiſfied, and redy to retourn in  
Denmark, ther fell out another foull attemptat in the Kingis palice, be  
the Erle Bodowell and his affociatis, be the convoy of ſome that wer  
about his Maieſte. The ſaid erle, early in a mornyng, enterit in at the  
bak ȝet befyd the kitching, as the ſaid ȝet was openit to let fourth of  
the palice my Lady Athell, paſſing that way to veſit hir mother the  
Lady Gowrye, that logit hard without the palice. The ſaid erle, with  
a few company at the firſt, entrit within his Maieſteis chamber, quhilk  
wes eaſely oppenit vnto him. He had a drawen ſwerd in his . . . .  
and Meſter Jhon Coluille another. His Maieſteis claife wer louſe, and  
his . . . . of his hoife not knet vp ; ȝet he was in nawayes aſtoniſ-  
fit, bot be . . . . calling them falſe traitours, bidding them ſtryk gif  
they durſt.

P. 220. Bot when they perſaued that his Maieſte wald tak na fear, Meſter  
Jhon Coluill roundit in the earles ear ; wha efter that fell down vpon  
his knees, humbly craving pardone, alleging that he had waited on  
lang ſecretly in the town of Edenbrough, to haue futed grace and  
mercy on the ſame maner vpon the hye ſtreit, as dyuers vthers had  
done ; and that his intention was diſcouert till ſic of his ennemys as  
wer about his Maieſte, wha had apponted men to ſchut him ; ſa that  
he was compellit to tak this harder courſe for his latter refuge ; requēſt-

ing his Maieſte other till pardone him, or elis to tak his awen fwerd and fley him. With this he layed his lang hair vnder his Maieſteis feit, and tok his fut with his hand and ſet it vpon his hair, in ſigne of greter humilite. Quhilk moued his Maieſte to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon him, and granted him pardone frely without compulſion ; as his Maieſte tald me that ſame day, and the haill maner of his incommyng.

In the mean tym that this was in doing, the allarme cam vp to the town. The commown bell rang, and many ran down, and I amang the reſt, to ſe what help mycht be maid. Being in the vtter cloiſe, I cryed vp at the window of his Maieſteis chamber, aſking how his Maieſte did. He cam to the window, and ſaid all wald be weill enough ; and ſaid, he had agreed with them vpon certane conditions, “ quhilkis ar preſently to be put in wret. Therfor,” ſaid he, “ cauſe ſa many of the town as ar com to my relief, to ſtay in the abbay kirk gaird, till I fend them farther word, and retourn again within half ane hour yourſelf.” Now efter that I had tald my commiſſion to the few number of the town that wer com, they taried not lang. Sa gret wer ther miſcontentement for the tym, that many deſyred a chengement.

Efter this I paſt to the tua Dence ambaffadours, that wer logit in the houſe of Kinloch ; wha wer in a gret diſpleſour for his Maieſteis eſtair, and willit me, in ther name, to retourn and deſyre farther knowlege of the weillfair of baith King and Quen. His Maieſte cam again to the window, and brocht the Quen with him ; and they baith bad me tell the ambaffadours that they wer weill, and that thingis wer fully agreed. Then the ſaidis ambaffadouris directed me to the Erle Bodo-well, to deſyre leaue that thay mycht com in efternun to the court, and ſe ther Maieſteis. Quhilk being granted, I paſt with them to the Quenis

chamber; and leaving them ther, past fordwart to se his Maieſte, wha was glaid to get any of his awen that he mycht ſpeak to, and declared vnto me the haill maner; lamenting mair the euell fauourit fourm of doing of the maiſt part of them that wer about him, then he did the Erle Bodowelis proceding vpon ſa gret neceſſite. I again, efter that I had comforted him the beſt I culd, ſaid that it was lamentable that he, wha had ſic a pringnant wit, and ſa ſincere ane inclynation, ſuld caſt him ſelf continowally in the company of wicked men, whom he loued for thair pleaſant langage, albeit he had oft proif of ther infidellite; and waned and did caſt aff ſic trew honeſt men as had a continowall cair of his honour and ſuretie, be ſchawing him the verite in ſour and unplaiſant langage. He ſaid, it was his chance to beleue that men, vnto whom he had bene very beneficiall, ſuld loue him. Wher I remembrit him of the ſaying of Plutark vnto Trayan, to think better of ther conſaill that loued him, then of thers that he loued.

Efter this the Dence ambaffadours required to be hard before the conſaill, quhilk was granted; and his Maieſte past to the nether  
 F. 221. towbuith, throw the town, wher the conſaill thocht meteft to ſit, and ther gaue audience to the ſaid ambaffadours. Wha declaired how they wer redy to depart towardis Denmark, and how that the K. ther maiſter, at ther commyng, wald inquire of the eſtait of the K. his gud brother. And gene they culd not inform him of the verite, he wald perchance ſend vther ambaffadouris. Therefore requested the conſaill, not to think ſtrange of ther curioſite in three queſtions; to wit, whither the K. knew or was maid preuy to the Erle Bodowelis enterpryſe or not; whither the K. had promyſed any thing to the ſaid erle, for fear or be compulſion, or frely with his hart; and whither the K. wes keped captywe, or gif he was at liberte.

To this his Maieſte maid anſwer firſt him ſelf, that he knew nathing of the erles incommyng, and that he was not tane with his awen content. To the ſecond his Maieſte anſwerit, that his promyſe was not maid be compulſion, bot for very pitie, vpon the Erle Bodowelis gret humiliation. To the thrid he ſaid, whither he was keped captywe or was at liberte, he left that point to the conſaill to diſcyd. The conſaill againe referrit it vnto the kingis awen declairation ; ſa that head lay ouer vndiſcydit.

It nedet na farther deſciſion ; for euery body mycht ſe that he was keped, and a new gard was tane vp, wherof the Lord Ogiltre was capten. His Maieſte was permitted daly till paſs fourth to the gardes, to tak the air ; wher he lamented vnto me to ſe him ſelf ſa waited on, aſking gif they wald ay keip him captywe. I requested his Maieſte to uſe wiſdom and patience ; “and let it not appear that ye cair quhilk of them be about you, and ye will ſchortly ſe them deuyd among them ſelues, for the caſualites, or for wardes or mariages that may vaik. This lord will ſay that he will haue it ; another will ſay that he will other haue it to him ſelf or to his frend, or elis he will tary na langer. Then with tym ther purſe will grow toun, that the maiſt part of them will retire them and becom malcontentis. Then your Maieſte may tak occaſion to wone ſa many of them as may be . . . . . without breking of your promyſe or parelling of . . . . . fre liberte ; wheras gif your Maieſte preſs now to eſchaipe . . . . . they ar in the hait tred of ther ſtanding, as I . . . . . ye will brek your promyſe and parell your perſon.” . . . . . gud vntill he was alterit be the chanceler, Sir Ge . . . . . fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell ; for they . . . . .

aduyces vnto his Maieſte to ſpy out ſome gud occaſi . . . . .  
 ſelf out of his keepers handis. For they fearit . . . . .  
 company with the new com in lordis that he wald with . . . . .  
 had bene about him of before, and wald forge . . . . .  
 folowing this aduylſe, his Maieſte determinit to eſchaipe . . . . .  
 him. Sa this plat was layed, that his Maieſte ſuld de . . . . .  
 ther to paſs his tym vntill the Erle Bodowellis cleang . . . . .  
 for that effect to ane apponted day; in the mea . . . . .  
 him ſelf from court vntill he ſuld be maid a clean . . . . .  
 the Lord Ogiltre with a gard. The Erle of Athell . . . . .  
 Malcom Toiſche and dyuers vthers. Now his Maieſte . . . . .  
 that ſome that wer in his company had bene . . . . .  
 him as he conjecturit weill anough at the . . . . .  
 requyred, oppenit his intent of eſ . . . . .  
 ment and hopped to be in a better . . . . .

P. 222. wer when the chanceler, Sir George and ther adherentis had the cheif  
 handling. Bot he hid his enterpryſe fra me, becauſe I had diſwadit  
 him to be ouer haifty, as is ſpecified of before; and lykwais from  
 my brother Sir Robert, wha was new retournit fra his ambaffage in  
 England. His Maieſte thoct, in his retournyng out of Facland  
 to Edenbrough, to ſpure his horſe towardis Couper, and ther to be-  
 come fre; quhilk he mycht haue done eaſely, gif they had bene all  
 trew that he maid preuy to his enterpryſe. Quhilk when he cam till  
 Edenbrough, was diſcouerit to the Erle Bodowell; wha boiſted his  
 Maieſte, and ſpak very hard and reprochefull langage of him, ſa that  
 dyuers thoct his Maieſte in gret danger.

In the mean tym, the miniſters, with Meſter Bowes the Engliſ am-

baffadour and my brother Sir Robert, delt between his Maieſte and the Erle Bodowell, and brocht them in ſome better termes ; packing vp all matters according to the firſt contract and agreement. And the Erle Bodowell was fairly cleangit be ane aſſyſe, and therafter ane convention apponted to be in Stirling ; wher his Maieſte being at fre liberte, fuld perfourm all conditions and promyſes. When his Maieſte was at Stirling, dyuers of them that wer fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell, and that had ſome particulairs, cam till court and moued his Maieſte, being at the convention, to ſay that whatſoeuer he had promyſed of before vnto the Erle Bodowell, was done vpon juſt fear be compulſion. Quhilk his Maieſte was very laith to do, conform to his vprycht naturell ; afirmand the contrary, as he had alwayes done of before. Then ſic as had particulaires, vſed wyles and ſubtilites till drawe him indirectly from his ground, to ſollow ther intent ; alleging that whatſoeuer his Maieſte did in his captiuite, culd ſtand the Erle Bodowell in na ſteid. And now to mak the Erle Bodowell ſure, his Maieſte behoued to ſay that he was compellit at the firſt ; bot being at liberte, he mycht mak the agreement effectuell ; in the mean tym ſet down his ordinance . . . . . out of his company dyuers of his dependers, with whom . . . . . the Erle Bodowelis doers again defyred the houſes of . . . . . to him, and the houſe of Spot to James Douglas, and . . . . . promyſed as they allegit. The Erle ſtayed at dele- . . . . . to Stirling, when he vnderſtod that the chancellor . . . . . com again to court aganes promyſe. Wha wer his . . . . . cryed out in a rage that they wer fiſchen . . . . . the articles of agreement at the inſtance of his . . . . . that wer neuer ſpoken of. In the mean tym

. . . . . to Stirling that Bodowelis frendis wer fayn  
 . . . . . and litle, and he retirith him him first to Lithco; vnto  
 . . . . . directed my brother Sir Robert to deall with him; bot he  
 . . . . . epentance for his moderat behauour and pro-  
 . . . . . full vnreuerent langage of his Maiefte and of all  
 . . . . . the laft agrement, whom he allegit wer cationers  
 . . . . . my brother that was ſent vnto him was glaid to  
 . . . . . with his awen faifete. Sa the Erle Bodowell becam  
 . . . . . mynd then he had bene of before, for eſchewing  
 . . . . . to draw the maiſt part of his dependers  
 . . . . . and remiſſions, except only James Douglas  
 . . . . . particuliers.

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